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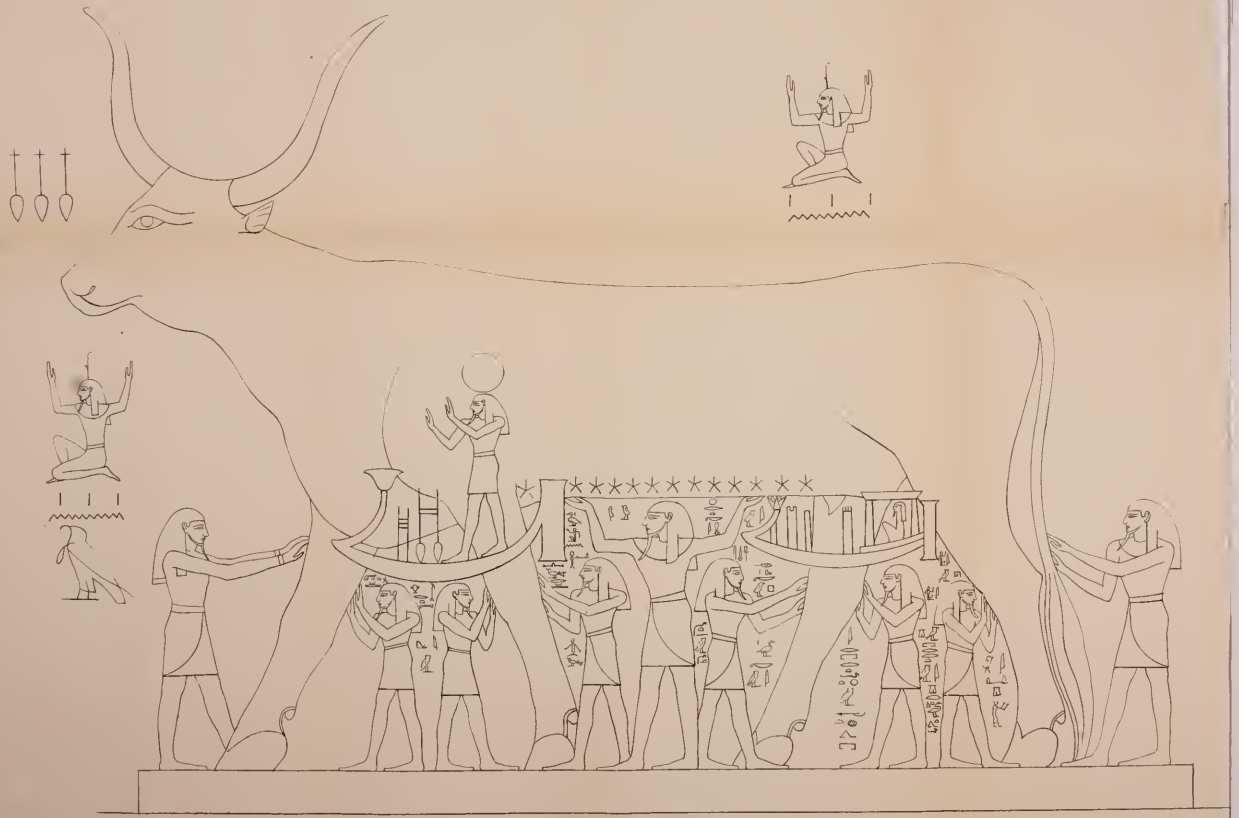

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. IV. JUNE, 1875. PART 1.

LA DESTRUCTION DES HOMMES PAR LES DIEUX.

D'après une Inscription Mythologique du Tombeau de Séti I, à Thèbes.

PAR EDOUARD NAVILLE.

Read 1st December, 1874.

L'INSCRIPTION qui doit faire le sujet de ce mémoire rentre dans ce qu'on peut nommer l'histoire mythologique égyptienne. Dans la mythologie égyptienne, comme dans celle des Grecs, il y a deux faces à considérer, ou plutôt deux degrés de développement dont nous ne pouvons pas fixer exactement les limites, mais qui n'en existent pas moins. Il y a la période dans laquelle la mythologie n'est encore que le reflet des phénomènes naturels qu'elle représente; les dieux ne sont que des personnifications cosmogoniques, ce sont des agents qui dans l'enfance de l'humanité tiennent lieu de ce que nous nommons les causes. Rien ne se passe, rien ne s'est passé dans le monde sans la volonté ou sans l'action d'une divinité. Mais viennent les poètes, et aussitôt c'est l'Olympe qui se peuple de divinités ayant chacune sa vie propre, son caractère, ses passions, ses qualités, quelquefois ses vices. L'idée physique, naturelle, s'efface de plus en plus, et nous

éprouvons d'autant plus d'intérêt pour cette mythologie nouvelle qu'elle s'éloigne davantage de son point de départ et qu'elle se rapproche plus de l'humanité. Apollon, Hercule, Jupiter, Vénus, parlent bien plus à notre imagination par ce qu'ils ont de commun avec nous que par les phénomènes de la nature dont ils sont la représentation lointaine; et nous oublions volontiers leur origine pour ne voir en eux que des êtres surnaturels qui se mêlent avec passion de la lutte d'Achille et d'Hector.

La mythologie égyptienne n'a point atteint les brillantes régions de la poésie grecque. Elle a conservé bien plus longtemps son caractère primitif de culte de la nature; à l'exception d'Osiris, les dieux de l'Egypte sont des dieux physiques, des représentations de phénomènes terrestres ou célestes, n'intervenant pas spontanément dans les affaires humaines, et ayant tous à peu-près les mêmes attributs sous des noms différents. Dans la plupart des textes, Ra ou Ammon, Hathor ou Mut sont des êtres impassibles comme les colosses de pierre qui sont leur image; leur vie n'offre aucun changement et ils n'interrompent leur mutisme éternel que pour répéter au roi ou au défunt quelques formules stéréotypées de bénédiction. Aussi comprend-on l'opinion de Jablonski lorsqu'il dit que les Egyptiens n'attribuaient jamais à leurs dieux ni la colère, ni d'autres passions.

Cependant ce serait une erreur de croire que l'Egypte en soit restée à ce point; il y a un autre côté de la mythologie dans lequel les dieux sont des êtres vivants qui agissent et qui parlent, qui se mêlent des affaires des humains et qui sont sujets à plusieurs des mêmes faiblesses qu'eux. Il y a une histoire des dieux. Nous savions déjà par les auteurs anciens qu'il y avait eu des dynasties divines; nous connaissons maintenant un petit nombre d'épisodes de ces règnes, comme les grandes guerres d'Horus qui conquit l'Egypte pour son père. L'inscription dont j'ai essayé l'interprétation nous en raconte un autre très antérieur dans l'histoire divine, puisqu'il se passe sous le règne de Ra.

Lorsqu'on pénètre aussi loin que possible dans l'immense tombeau du roi Séti I, on arrive dans une salle à colonnes au-delà de laquelle le souterrain devait encore se prolonger.

Du côté droit de cette salle s'ouvre une petite chambre obscure et basse; en face de la porte, un grand bas-relief représente une vache peinte en rouge, sous le ventre de laquelle se trouve le dieu Schu, l'Atlas égyptien, avec huit autres divinités qui personnifient des étoiles; entre les jambes de l'animal sont suspendues deux petites barques de Ra. Ce bas-relief a été publié par Champollion (Momts. de l'Egypte III, 245) mais non le texte qui l'accompagne. Les quatre parois de la chambre sont recouvertes d'une longue inscription qui à certains endroits est fort endommagée. D'autres petits bas-reliefs l'ornaient aussi, mais le vandalisme des fellahs et je dirai des voyageurs les a fait disparaître. Malgré les ordres du vice-roi et la surveillance de M. Mariette-Bey, le tombeau de Séti I est l'une des carrières les plus fructueuses où les Arabes viennent se pourvoir de fragments de sculpture qu'ils vendent aux étrangers. J'en ai été témoin moi-même; il m'est arrivé en y rentrant le matin de ne plus trouver un dessin que j'avais vu la veille et j'estime que la publication complète de cette tombe magnifique qui a servi de modèle a un grand nombre d'autres, serait une œuvre très utile pour l'avancement de l'égyptologie, car elle sauverait d'une ruine certaine ces précieux restes.

C'est, comme je l'ai dit, un épisode du règne de Ra que l'inscription nous rapporte. Or Ra, s'il n'est pas le premier roi divin, est cependant un des plus anciens. J'ai cherché à démontrer dans un autre travail d'après un passage du Livre des Morts[1] que le commencement du règne de Ra était antérieur au soulèvement du firmament et remontait, par conséquent, aux premières périodes de la création. Ce règne dura peut-être longtemps puisque nous devons voir les hommes jouer un grand rôle dans le récit qui nous occupe. Où se passe la scène? probablement à Héliopolis, l'expression de *le grand temple*, se rapporte par excellence au sanctuaire de cette localité; d'autres textes nous en fournissent la preuve; d'ailleurs le nom même d'On (Héliopolis) se trouve dans le cours du récit. Le choix de cette cité n'a rien qui nous étonne, puisqu'Héliopolis jouissait parmi les

[1] Voyez Zeitschrift, 1874, p. 57.

Egyptiens d'un grand renom d'antiquité, et que ses habitants s'attribuaient une origine bien plus reculée que celle de tous leurs compatriotes (cf. Diod. Sic. V, 57). Cette inscription doi avoir fait partie des livres du prophète, ainsi que nous l prouve la rubrique finale :

" Lorsque Thoth veut lire ce livre à Ra, il se purifie par des purifications de neuf jours, les prophètes et les hommes doivent faire de même."

La sainteté du livre ne l'a pas préservé mieux que d'autres des outrages des hommes et de l'action du temps : les estampages que j'ai rapportés d'Egypte en 1869 et d'après lesquels cette traduction a été faite, indiquent de nombreuses lacunes résultant de fractures de la pierre ; beaucoup de phrases sont incomplètes, le bas des lignes a presque toujours beaucoup souffert, le titre du livre fait entièrement défaut, et il ne reste que quelques mots des premières colonnes du texte. Il y aura donc dans le cours du récit bien des mots à suppléer.

" ..... Le dieu qui existe par lui-même après qu'il est devenu roi des hommes et des dieux tous ensemble ; les hommes ..... à sa Majesté, vie saine et forte, dans sa vieillesse. Ses membres sont en argent, sa chair en or, ses articulations en lapis-lazuli vrai ..... Dit par sa Majesté, vie saine et forte, à ceux qui étaient avec lui : J'appelle[1] devant ma face[2] Schu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut,

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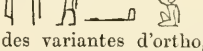
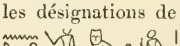
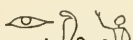
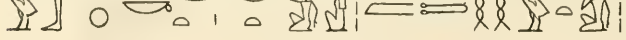
[1]  expression qui se retrouve à plusieurs reprises avec des variantes d'orthographe : et . Partout la préposition a l'air de faire corps avec le verbe ; les désignations de conjugaison ne viennent qu'après. Brugsch, Dict. p. 1669,  *herbeigerufen wurden die Grossen.*

[2]  Le substantif pronominal se rapportant à un dieu est suivi ici d'un déterminatif divin ; il est plus fréquent au pluriel avec le sens de *tous les hommes* (Stèle de Horemheb à Londres, l. 6.)  *quand tu*

et les pères et les mères qui étaient avec moi quand j'étais encore dans Nun, et j'ordonne (?)[1] à Nun qui amène ses compagnons avec lui (disant): Amène-les en petit nombre[2] afin que les hommes ne te voient point et que leur cœur ne s'effraie point; tu iras avec eux (tes compagnons) dans le sanctuaire (le grand temple), s'ils donnent leur consentement,[3] jusqu'à ce que j'aille avec Nun dans le lieu où je me tiens. Quand ces dieux furent arrivés.....
ces dieux dans son lieu; ils se prosternèrent devant sa Majesté qui parla devant son père, devant les anciens dieux, les créateurs des hommes et des êtres purs, et ces dieux parlèrent devant sa Majesté, disant: Dis-nous tes paroles afin que nous les entendions. Dit par Ra à Nun; Toi, l'ainé des dieux, de qui je suis né, et vous, dieux antiques; voici[4] les hommes qui sont nés de moi-même, ils prononcent des paroles contre moi; dites-moi ce que vous ferez à ce propos, voici, j'ai attendu, et je ne les ai point tués avant

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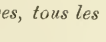
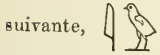
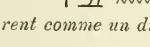
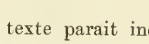
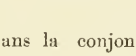
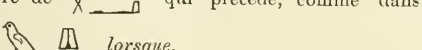
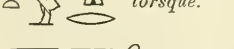
te lèves, tous les hommes sont dans la joie. La même mot sans déterminatif et avec une négation se trouve plus bas : *personne*, ainsi que l'expression suivante, *tous les hommes l'adorent comme un dieu.*

[1]  Ici le texte parait incomplet ou fautif. Ce mot dépend peut-être de qui précède, comme dans la conjonction composée  *lorsque.*

[2]  mot nouveau que j'ai pris pour une variante de (Brugsch, Dict. p. 1502).  (Birch, Dict. p. 410).

[3] Voyez Brugsch, Dict. p. 1558, sous le mot  l'exemple qu'il cite :  *der Glanz seines Herrn welcher Beifall spendete dem Plane seines Gottes.*

[4]  etc. . . *voici que les hommes*, etc. . . . manière assez fréquente d'entrer en matière, de commencer une phrase, même

d'avoir entendu vos paroles. Dit par la Majesté de Nun : mon fils Ra, Dieu plus grand que celui qui l'a fait et que celui qui l'a créé, je demeure (plein) de grande crainte envers toi ; que toi-même tu refléchisses en toi-même (sur ce que tu as à faire). Dit par la Majesté de Ra : voici, ils s'enfuient dans le pays, et leurs cœurs sont effrayés ..... dit par les dieux : que ta face le permette et qu'on frappe ces hommes qui trament[1] des choses mauvaises, tes ennemis, et que personne (ne subsiste parmi eux) ....."

Ainsi Ra a régné depuis longtemps puisqu'il est sur ses vieux jours ; blessé de l'audace des hommes qui se sont permis de parler contre lui, il convoque le conseil des dieux, il s'adresse à son père Nun, à plusieurs divinités et à toute une assemblée d'anciens, de pères et de mères, qui répondent aussitôt à son appel, et qui, arrivés devant lui, se prosternent avec respect. La conversation s'engage ; Ra leur expose ses griefs, il se plaint de ce que des hommes dont il est lui-même le père puissent parler contre lui, et il les consulte sur ce qu'il y a à faire. Comme le plus âgé, Nun prend la parole et témoigne à Ra sa profonde vénération ; et les dieux qui l'entourent proposent au monarque outragé de détruire ces rebelles qui complottent contre lui. Malheureusement une lacune nous empêche de voir quelle est celle des divinités qui est déléguée pour cela et qui prend la forme d'Hathor ; j'incline à croire que c'est la déesse Tefnut. Il manque ici plusieurs mots ; il ne reste plus que ceux-ci :—"..... descendre comme (ou sous la forme d') Hathor."

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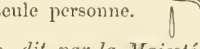
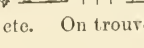
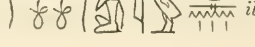
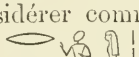
lorsqu'on s'adresse à une seule personne. etc., *dit par la Majesté du dieu à Thoth : Viens, quittons*, etc. On trouve aussi  littéralement : *vous et moi.*

[1]  *complot, conspiration, rebellion.* C'est le même crime qui oblige Horus à marcher contre ses ennemis. Voyez Naville, Mythe d'Horus, pl. XII, 4.  *ils conspirent contre leur seigneur.*

"Cette déesse partit, et elle tua les hommes sur la terre. Dit par la Majesté de ce dieu: Viens en paix, Hathor, tu as fait (ce qui t'était ordonné) ..... dit par cette déesse: Tu es vivant, que j'ai été plus forte que les hommes, et mon cœur est content. Dit par la Majesté de Ra: Je suis vivant que je dominerai sur eux ..... (et que j'achèverai) ..... leur ruine. Et voici que Sechet[1] pendant beaucoup[2] de nuits foula aux pieds leur sang jusqu'à la ville d' Héracléopolis."

La déesse a bien su s'acquitter de son mandat; elle a détruit les hommes, leur sang a été foulé aux pieds; et Ra lui accorde des louanges sur ce qu'elle s'est montrée obéissante, louanges dont il ne tardera pas d'ailleurs à se repentir. Tout le pays donc jusqu'à Héracléopolis est couvert du sang des hommes. Devons-nous admettre que la destruction de *ces hommes* implique celle de toute l'humanité? Cela me semble évident, car l'inscription ne parle pas d'autres humains que des *rot-u*, les hommes par excellence, à moins qu'on ne puisse considérer comme des hommes les ennemis de Ra auxquels les  *rot-u*, auront plus tard à faire la guerre. Or si les *rot-u* sont condamnés à mort, à plus forte raison, les ennemis de Ra sont-ils voués à une destruction certaine.

Mais voici que la scène change. Après avoir fait massacrer les hommes, le courroux de Ra va s'apaiser par une cérémonie assez étrange.

"Dit par Ra: J'appelle vers moi mes messagers; qu'ils se hâtent, qu'ils se dépêchent, qu'ils courrent de toutes

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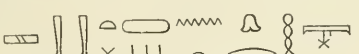
[1] Je considère le nom de Sechet comme une autre dénomination de la déesse Tefnut ou Hathor, qui a massacré les hommes.

[2]  littéralement *mélange, variété de nuits*, de même racine que l'adjectif (Brugsch, Grammaire, p. 29), *maint, divers, différent.* On peut le comparer aussi au Copte ϣϐϵ *septante.*

leurs forces ![1] Et les messagers arrivèrent immédiatement. Dit par la Majesté de ce dieu : Qu'ils commencent à Eléphantine et qu'ils m'apportent des fruits[2] en quantité. Lorsqu'ils eurent apporté les fruits, ... le Sekti d'Héliopolis broyait ces fruits tandis que les prêtresses ..... faisaient couler (?) dans des vases. On mit ces fruits dans des vases ronds ..... avec le sang des hommes, et on fit de boisson sept mille cruches. Et voici que la Majesté de Ra, le roi de la Haute et de la Basse Egypte vint avec les dieux en trois jours de navigation, pour voir ces vases de boisson après qu'il eût ordonné à la déesse de tuer les hommes. Dit par la Majesté de Ra : C'est bien, cela ; je vais protéger les hommes à cause de cela. Dit par Ra : J'élève ma main à ce sujet, que je ne tuerai plus les hommes."

Les prêtres égyptiens aimaient généralement à rattacher leurs rites religieux à quelque grand événement qui s'était passé dans la vie des dieux. Nous savons par exemple par les textes ptolémaïques qu'en souvenir de la grande victoire qu'Horus avait remportée à Edfou sur Set et ses compagnons, les rois versaient quelques gouttes de vin dans une coupe d'eau qu'ils buvaient ensuite. Ici, il n'y a pas l'institution positive d'une cérémonie, ou du moins nous ne savons pas où elle se célébrait. Ra ordonne lui-même qu'on aille lui chercher des fruits dont les prêtres font une boisson probablement mêlée du sang des hommes. A la vue des 7,000 cruches qu'ils ont préparées, le cœur de Ra est plein de joie, et il jure de ne plus détruire les hommes. Pour le moment, il est satisfait, cette sorte d'offrande l'apaise et il ne songe plus aux rebelles dont il se plaignait si vivement.

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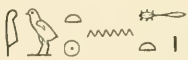
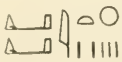
1  *de toutes leurs forces*, litt. *durities cordis ;* cf. Copte ϣⲟⲧ (Peyron, Dict. p. 310) durities, analogue à l'expression . (Brugsch, Dict. p. 1366) ϣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ ϩⲏⲧ, *sustinere, pati.*

2  Le déterminatif est celui des fruits, un petit disque jaune bordé de rouge. Copt. ϫⲓϫⲓ *pomus.*

Le texte qui suit devient encore plus difficile à comprendre, à cause de plusieurs mots nouveaux.

"La Majesté de Ra, le roi de la Haute et de la Basse Egypte ordonna[1] au milieu de la nuit de verser l'eau des vases,[2] et les champs furent complètement (?)[3] remplis d'eau, par la volonté de ce dieu. La déesse arriva au matin et trouva les champs pleins d'eau; son visage en fut joyeux, et elle but en abondance et elle s'en alla rassasiée. Elle n'aperçut point d'hommes. Dit par la Majesté de Ra à cette déesse: Viens en paix, gracieuse déesse. Et il

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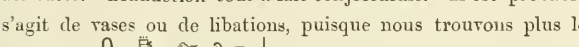
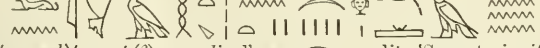
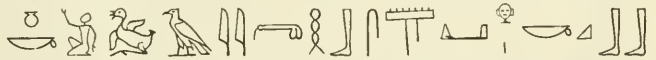
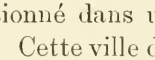
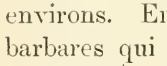
1 variante de .

2  *de verser l'eau des vases.* Traduction tout-à-fait conjecturale. Il est probable cependant qu'il s'agit de vases ou de libations, puisque nous trouvons plus loin à deux reprises le mot que le déterminatif me force à traduire par *libations.* Cette colonne étant celle du coin, les estampages n'ont pas parfaitement réussi.

3  *et les champs furent complètement (?) remplis d'eau* se lit. Sep, et signifie *la paume des mains;* de-là la mesure de la *palme.* cf. Todt. ch. 111, l. 4, d'après le pap. de Nebseni  *je suis l'homme qui revêt ta face et qui rafraichit la paume de ta main.* ou veut dire *deux.* cf. Todt. ch. 111, 2, où le pap. de Leyde lit. *Il il a deux coudées de longueur.* Todt. 112, 7, d'après le pap. de Nebseni. *mets en deux a Pe et deux a Chen.* L'expression *quatre palmes* paraît avoir ici une sens adverbial, *des quatre cotés, entièrement;* de même dans le description de la vache *elle est de tous les côtés peinte en roï.* Je ne donne cette dernière traduction que comme une hypothèse qui exige des preuves en plus grand nombre.

naquit les jeunes prêtresses d'Amu.[1] Dit par la Majesté de Ra à la déesse : On lui fera des libations à chacune des fêtes de la nouvelle année sous la direction de mes prêtresses. De là vient que des libations sont faites sous la direction des prêtresses à la fête d'Hathor par tous les hommes depuis les jours anciens."

Dans ce qui précède le lieu de la scène a changé. Nous ne sommes plus à Héliopolis ; nous sommes maintenant à l'extrémité du Delta, près du lac Mareotis, dans le dernier nome occidental, le nome Libyque dont la ville d'Amu était la capitale. Le nom d'Amu veut dire : la ville des dattiers, et d'après ce qui va suivre, il me semble évident qu'elle était située dans le district appelé  *le pays de la vache,* qui est mentionné dans une inscription géographique du temple d'Edfou. Cette ville doit sans doute le rôle qu'elle joue dans ce texte aux conditions exceptionnelles de ses environs. En effet à l'ouest du nome Libyque vivaient des barbares qui portaient un nom très semblable : *les barbares*  *des champs de dattiers*, et nous savons par la même inscription d'Edfou, qu'à l'Est de leur pays ces barbares vivaient de l'eau du Nil, tandis qu'à l'Ouest ils vivaient de l'eau de puits. Ainsi ce nome formait la limite extrême entre le sol inondé par le Nil et la région qui n'avait d'autre eau que celle des puits ; il était donc dans des circonstances différentes des autres ; il ne dépendait pas uniquement du fleuve. A la fin du siècle passé, un membre de l'expédition française, le général Andréossy, visitant le territoire de ce nome et surtout l'emplacement de Mariouth, l'ancienne Maréa, nous dit qu'on y trouve des puits profonds et bien entretenus, mais que ces puits ne sont remplis que par la pluie. Ce pays était cependant d'une grande fertilité, car de nombreux auteurs arabes ou autres témoignent que les environs du lac Maréotis étaient jadis une forêt de palmiers,

[1] chef lieu du nome que M. Brugsch appelle Libyque (cf. Geogr. I, 244 et 245, et III, 15) que M. Jacques de Rougé (Monnaies de l'Egypte, p. 70 et 71) divise en deux, Maréotique et Libyque. Voyez aussi les textes géographiques de M. Dümichen, et en particulier I, 98, 5.

ce qui justifie pleinement soit le nom de la ville soit celui des barbares Libyens qui habitaient dans le voisinage. Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques nous apprennent que les dieux d'Amu étaient Hathor et Osiris, et il y a vraisemblablement une mention d'une cérémonie toute analogue à celle dont nous venons de voir l'institution dans cette phrase d'une invocation à Osiris :

" Tu es à Amu, ... tous les hommes versent de l'eau en l'honneur du créateur de leurs personnes."

Quant au sens de cette cérémonie, il me semble que c'est une représentation symbolique de la pluie qui venait remplir les puits des habitants du nome Libyque et qui était nécessaire à leur existence. C'était en souvenir de ce que Ra avait fait inonder les champs et qu'Hathor était venue s'y désaltérer que tous les hommes répandaient de l'eau chaque année en l'honneur de la déesse.

Le récit continue sous une forme qui devient de plus en plus familière. Les dieux sont descendus de leur piédestal ; ils se sont rabaissés au niveau de l'humanité ; ils ont même des aventures triviales. Voici Ra qui se repent d'avoir été trop magnanime envers les hommes, qui trouve que cette destruction dont il n'est pas lui-même l'auteur n'a point été faite comme il le désirait et qu'il est toujours importuné de la société des humains.

Dit par la Majesté de Ra :

" Il y a une douleur cuisante qui me tourmente ; qu'est-ce donc qui me fait mal ? Dit par la Majesté de Ra : Je suis vivant, que mon cœur est lassé d'être avec eux (les hommes) je ne les ai nullement détruits ; ce n'est pas une destruction que j'aie faite moi-même ![1] Dit par les dieux

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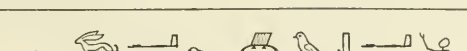
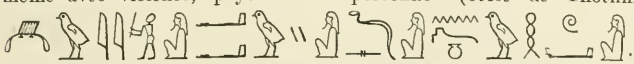
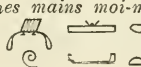
[1]  litt. : *ce n'est pas une destruction où j'aie étendu ma main.* Étendre sa main veut dire : agir soi-même avec violence, payer de sa personne (Stèle de Thothmès, l. 5.)

 le dieu dit : *J'étends mes mains moi-même et je lie pour toi* . . . . . De là dans le mauvais sens :  (Pap. Abbott, III, 6) faire main basse sur. Chabas, Mél. III, 64.

qui l'accompagnent: Arrière avec ta lassitude, tu as obtenu tout ce que tu désirais. Dit par la Majesté de ce dieu à la Majesté de Nun: Mes membres sont souffrants depuis fort longtemps; je ne pourrai pas marcher jusqu'à ce que j'atteigne un autre (pour m'aider)."

Ici, il n'est malheureusement plus possible de continuer une traduction suivie, le texte est trop gâté, mais il paraît d'après ce qui en reste que Nun appelle ses enfants 'Schu et Nut pour qu'ils viennent au secours de Ra et qu'après les recommandations de son père la déesse Nut se décide à charger Ra sur son dos. A ce moment les hommes paraissent de nouveau; ils voient passer Ra porté par la déesse, et, autant que je peux en juger, ils offrent au monarque d'aller combattre ses ennemis. Le dieu continue son voyage et arrive en bonne santé dans un sanctuaire. Peu après nous voyons le mot *vache;* probablement qu'il se passe là une transformation de la déesse Nut qui prend la forme de cet animal. Il était encore nuit; au matin les hommes sortent, portant leurs arcs, et le dieu leur dit: "Vos péchés sont derrière vous" . . . . . Un combat a lieu, il est vraisemblable que les ennemis de Ra sont enveloppés dans une destruction complète. Ensuite Ra veut aller au ciel. "J'ai résolu," dit-il, "de me faire enlever au ciel; qui est celui que Nut en chargera?"[1] Quelqu'un se présente, dont Ra se sert pour son ascension, et il pénètre dans un lieu que je ne puis déterminer. Arrivé là, le dieu veut embellir sa résidence et sans doute faire plaisir à cette vache dont le nom a paru dans l'inscription, et qui doit être l'emblême de la déesse Nut.

"Le dieu dit; Je rassemble en ta possession des milliers (?) d'hommes et il naquit . . . ." le reste manque. "Dit par sa Majesté, vie saine et forte: Qu'un champ de repos s'étende; et il naquit un champ de repos. J'y fais

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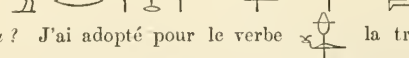
[1]  *qui est celui que Nut en chargera ?* J'ai adopté pour le verbe la traduction de M. Brugsch, Todt. I, 5, *übertragen.* Ra demande à qui Nut remettra la charge de le porter au ciel.

croître des fleurs; et il naquit le champ des Aalu. J'y mets comme habitants les êtres de toute espèce qui sont suspendus dans le ciel, les étoiles. Alors Nut se mit à trembler très fort. Dit par la Majesté de Ra: Je rassemble les multitudes pour qu'elles l'adorent, et les multitudes naquirent. Dit par la Majesté de Ra: Mon fils ʿSchu,[1] prends avec toi ma fille Nut et gardez les multitudes qui vivent dans le ciel nocturne; place les sur ta tête et sois leur nourricier . . . . . on dit ce chapitre à la vache (qui se nomme) la multitude des êtres."

Suit une longue description de cette vache, dont nous avons signalé la représentation sur une paroi de la chambre où se trouve notre texte. Cette description interrompt momentanément le récit; elle est longue, embarrassée, remplie de noms propres dont le sens mystique nous échappe. Il ressort cependant de ce que nous avons traduit qu'il faut considérer cette vache comme un emblême du ciel où sont rassemblées des millions d'étoiles, appelées *des êtres vivants*.

Ainsi, après avoir essayé en vain de détruire les hommes sur la terre, souffrant de ce séjour où leur société l'importune, Ra laisse aux humains le soin de combattre ses ennemis, et lui-même se fait porter au ciel. Là il crée le champ des Aalu, l'Elysée des anciens Egyptiens, et le peuple d'étoiles; puis il s'occupe à répartir entre les dieux qui l'accompagnent le soin des diverses parties du monde. ʿSchu et Nut deviennent des divinités célestes chargées de garder les multitudes d'êtres qui vivent dans le ciel; l'une a la forme d'une vache; l'autre comme un Atlas soutient de ses deux mains le ventre de cette vache qui porte toutes les étoiles. Voyons maintenant à qui Ra va confier les êtres qui sont sur la terre :—

"Dit par la Majesté de Ra à Thoth: Appelle-moi la Majesté de Seb et dis lui: viens en hâte, sur-le-champ! Après que la Majesté de Seb fut venue, le dieu lui dit: Prends sous ta garde les serpents qui sont en toi (dans ton

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[1] *mon fils ʿSu.* Les mots *fils* et *fille* sont sans doute ici des noms d'affection. Ces divinités sont en réalité les enfants de Nun et non de Ra.

sein), qui me craignent tel que je suis ; tu connaîtras leur sagesse et ensuite tu iras dans le lieu où est mon père Nun et tu lui diras : Garde soigneusement les reptiles de la terre et de l'eau . . . . . ."

Une lacune regrettable dans mes estampes m'empêche de traduire la fin de ce fragment. Seb est connu pour être le dieu représentant la terre ; il est naturel que Ra lui parle des serpents qu'il a en son sein, ou plus littéralement en lui ; dans la répartition que Ra fait aux diverses divinités, c'est donc Seb et Nun qui sont chargés de garder les créatures qui rampent sur le sol ou qui vivent dans l'eau. D'après ce qui reste des lignes incomplètes qui suivent, on voit qu'il est question d'enchantements ou de formules magiques, destinées à faciliter la tâche des dieux. On sait en effet que de tous temps les reptiles, surtout le serpent et la grenouille (dont le nom en égyptien rappelle celui d'enchantement), ont joué un grand rôle dans les arts magiques et la sorcellerie.

Selon toute apparence, il y a dans la mention spéciale des serpents et des reptiles amphibies une signification symbolique. Dans les nombreuses représentations des dieux des éléments, on trouve que ces divinités ont presque toujours des têtes de grenouille ou de serpent, suivant qu'elles sont considérées comme mâle ou femelle. Or, si la division des éléments en quatre ou huit date peut-être des Ptolémées, le symbolisme qui leur donnait l'image de reptiles est certainement d'origine plus ancienne, et il me semble évident que lorsque Ra remet à Seb et à Nun la garde de ces animaux et les enchantements par lesquels ces dieux pourront les maîtriser, c'est dire qu'il leur donne la domination sur les éléments et les moyens de régler leur action. Il reste encore un dieu à qui Ra va faire la plus belle part :

" Dit par la Majesté du dieu à Thoth : Viens, quittons le ciel et allons dans ma demeure, parceque je veux faire un luminaire brillant dans le ciel inférieur et dans la région profonde,[1] c'est-là que tu inscris et que tu gardes ceux qui ont commis des actions méchantes . . . . . les serviteurs

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[1] litt. *la région de la caverne.*

que hait mon cœur. Mais toi, tu es dans ma demeure, le dieu de ma demeure ; on t'appellera Thoth, la demeure de Ra ; je te donne d'envoyer des messagers vers ..... et il naquit l'ibis de Thoth ; je te donne d'élever ta main à la face des grands dieux ..... et il naquit les deux grues[1] de Thoth ; je te donne d'entourer les deux parties du ciel par ta grâce et par tes rayons, et il naquit le disque lunaire de Thoth ; je te donne de te tourner vers les Ioniens, et il naquit le cynocéphale de Thoth qui est dans son escorte ;[2] tu es sous mes ordres ; les yeux de tous sont ouverts sur toi, et tous les hommes t'adorent comme un dieu."

Après avoir remis à la garde de diverses divinités le ciel et la terre, Ra devait encore choisir le gardien de la région inférieure, celle que nous nommons l'abîme ou l'enfer. C'est le dieu Thoth qui en est chargé, et, en même temps que Ra lui impose ses fonctions, nous voyons naître les symboles par lesquels il est le plus souvent représenté : l'ibis, le cynocéphale, le disque lunaire, et un autre beaucoup plus rare, les deux grues, ou les deux ailes de grue. C'est le dieu que Ra traite avec le plus de faveur, c'est le seul auquel il parle avec une sorte de bienveillance et qu'il appelle sa demeure, c'est-à-dire, par une métaphore assez fréquente à la langue égyptienne, l'objet de ses affections. Il ne faut pas s'étonner de ce qu'il semble n'y avoir aucun rapport entre les

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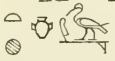
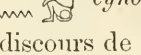
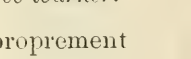
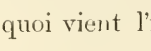
[1] *les deux grues (?) de Thoth.* Origine du nom de  donné à Thoth. M. Goodwin nous apprend que Thoth est quelquefois représenté par deux oiseaux, (Zeitschr. 1874, p. 38.) Peut-être aussi faut-il traduire : *les deux ailes de la grue de Thoth ;* ce serait alors l'explication du signe qui accompagne souvent le nom du dieu.

[2] Je traduis ce mot par *compagnon escorte.* (Leps. Denkm. II, 149. *compagnons, escorte d'Horus à son couronnement.*) Voy. aussi Todt. 145, 3.

promesses de Ra et les symboles qui y correspondent. Pour quiconque a le texte égyptien sous les yeux, ce contraste s'explique de lui-même par ces allitérations que les Egyptiens affectionnaient. Ils aimaient à rapprocher des mots ayant un son analogue, quand même l'idée qu'ils représentent est peut-être très différente; c'est pour cela qu'ils dérivent  *ibis* du verbe  *envoyer*, et  *cynocéphale* de *se tourner*.

C'est avec ce discours de Ra que finit le récit proprement dit; après quoi vient l'indication de la manière dont il doit être lu :

"Celui qui prononce ces paroles lui-même," est-il dit, "doit se frotter de baume et d'huile fine; il doit avoir un encensoir dans les mains et des parfums derrière les deux oreilles; ses lèvres doivent être purifiées avec du *bet;* il est vêtu de deux tissus tout neufs; il est chaussé de souliers de bois; l'image de *Ma* (la Vérité) est sur sa langue peinte en couleur *roï* fraîche d'écrivain. Lorsque Thoth veut lire ce livre à Ra, il se purifie lui-même par des purifications de neuf jours; les prêtres et les hommes doivent faire de même."

A la lecture de ce conte bizarre, il est impossible de ne pas être frappé à quel point il diffère de la grande masse des inscriptions funéraires qui garnissent les tombeaux des rois, ou du Livre des Morts. Au lieu de descriptions monotones de la course du soleil aux différentes heures du jour et de la nuit, ou d'invocations mystiques aux génies, nous avons ici une sorte de dialogue, une espèce d'histoire des dieux. Ra n'est plus la divinité cosmogonique à tête de bélier que les esprits traînent sur sa barque; c'est un roi, un Jupiter, qui règne depuis longtemps sur les hommes et les dieux et qui exerce son autorité même sur son père et sur ses ascendants. Irrité de l'audace des hommes, il veut les détruire, mais il se laisse apaiser par une offrande et jure de ne pas les faire périr. Cependant il se fatigue bientôt d'être toujours avec eux; il les quitte et se fait porter au ciel par Nut. Il remet à cette dernière et à 'Schu la garde des êtres du ciel; à Seb et

à Nun la garde des êtres de la terre et de l'eau ; et il s'en va faire sa demeure avec Thoth, son préféré. Etrange récit, dans lequel au milieu d'inventions fantastiques et souvent puériles, nous trouvons cependant les deux termes de l'existence telle que la comprenaient les anciens Egyptiens. Ra commence par la terre, et, passant par le ciel, s'arrête dans la région de la profondeur, l'Ament, dans laquelle il paraît vouloir séjourner. C'est donc une représentation symbolique et religieuse de la vie qui, pour chaque Egyptien et surtout pour un roi conquérant, devait commencer et finir comme le soleil. Voilà ce qui explique qu'un chapitre qui à certains endroits paraît si peu respectueux pour les divinités dont il parle, puisse être inscrit dans un tombeau, et que même, d'après les cérémonies qui doivent en accompagner la lecture, il soit considéré comme d'une sainteté presque redoutable. Pour qu'il fût à l'abri des regards profanes, cette inscription avait été mise dans une petite chambre probablement tenue fermée, et rien dans les quelques bas-reliefs qui s'y trouvent ne pouvait faire connaître le contenu du texte.

Il y aurait peut-être des comparaisons à faire avec d'autres mythologies, peut-être aussi des traces de ce mythe à retrouver dans d'autres morceaux de la littérature égyptienne. Je voudrais en finissant m'arrêter sur un seul point, sur le récit du massacre des hommes. Il me semble que c'est là qu'il faut chercher l'origine des sacrifices humains qui nous sont rapportés par plusieurs auteurs grecs et auxquels Hérodote ne veut pas croire. Plutarque nous dit (de Is. et Os. p. 129, éd. Parthey) que dans la ville d'Ilithyia, on brûlait vivants des hommes qu'on appellait *typhoniens* et qu'on répandait leurs cendres aux vents. Porphyre nous parle d'hommes qu'on immolait à Héliopolis, et Seleucus, cité par Athénée, rapporte qu'à la place des victimes humaines qu'on sacrifiait dans les temps anciens, les Egyptiens offraient aux dieux des gâteaux πεμματα. Or ici, nous voyons que Ra fait tuer les hommes, et qu'une déesse foule aux pieds leur sang ; puis, satisfait d'une offrande dont la nature n'est pas parfaitement certaine, il jure de ne plus tuer les hommes. Il semble donc qu'il ait accepté cette offrande à la place des humains dont il avait ordonné la destruction. A la vue des

vases de boisson qui lui rappellent ses exploits, il lui suffit que la mort des hommes soit commémorée de cette manière, de même que les victoires d'Horus sont célébrées par le vin que le roi verse dans sa coupe. Cette légende détournera les Egyptiens des sacrifices humains; ce ne sera pas chez eux une coutume, et, en particulier, ils ne sacrifieront pas des Egyptiens, des hommes de leur race, à moins qu'ils ne portent sur eux-mêmes la marque de Typhon. Car la protection de Ra ne s'étend pas à toute l'humanité, il a juré d'épargner les *rot-u*, les hommes par excellence, ceux qui sont nés de sa personne et qui sont le type de la race égyptienne; à côté d'eux sont les ennemis de Ra que les hommes combattent et qu'ils doivent percer de leurs flèches: le serment de Ra ne s'applique pas à eux. Rien d'étonnant donc à ce que dans certaines occasions, on immolât les hommes typhoniens, ceux qui par leur couleur ou leur origine étaient considérés comme des ennemis du roi divin. Tel est aussi l'un des sens de ce conte mythologique que nous a livré le tombeau de Séti I.

Les mythes égyptiens n'ont pas de charme en eux-mêmes; il ne s'y trouve ni l'imagination brillante ni la fraîcheur qui distinguent ceux des poëtes grecs. Le style est aride, et la lecture en est trop souvent rendue fastidieuse par une grande ambiguité de langage, et par des détails triviaux et puérils. C'est l'interprétation seule qui en fait l'intérêt, l'idée philosophique qui les a dictés, la conception de l'esprit qui se cache sous un vêtement si bizarre et quelquefois si grossier.

C'est là le but vers lequel nous devons diriger nos recherches, et nous saurons alors si les Egyptiens méritent bien réellement ce renom de grande sagesse dont ils se sont parés dans l'antiquité.

Note.

Ce mémoire était déjà sous presse, quand j'ai reçu de Monsieur le Dr. Birch la proposition que j'ai acceptée avec empressement, d'y ajouter le texte hiéroglyphique. Cette décision n'ayant été prise que cet hiver, cela explique

A

C

Dessin de la Vache.

E

pourquoi le lecteur ne trouvera dans le cours du mémoire aucun renvoi au texte égyptien.

Grâce à l'obligeance de M. Edwin Smith et de M. le Prof. Mills, j'ai pu combler la lacune qui existait au milieu des lignes 58–62 par le fait de la perte d'un de mes estampages.

Les cinq planches ci-jointes contiennent tout ce qui reste sur les quatre murs de la *Chambre de la Vache*. Elles contiennent, outre les parties traduites, celles que j'avais omises à dessein, et dont l'interprétation devra faire l'objet d'un travail subséquent, à savoir: La description de la Vache céleste (l. 44–55), et l'invocation aux esprits de l'Orient (l. 84–fin). Sauf la lacune sus-mentionnée, l'inscription a été copiée en entier d'après mes estampages, et collationnée par M. Birch sur ceux de M. le Prof. Mills. L'état de la pierre ne permet pas d'espérer qu'on puisse combler les vides considérables qui se trouvent dans la planche *B*.

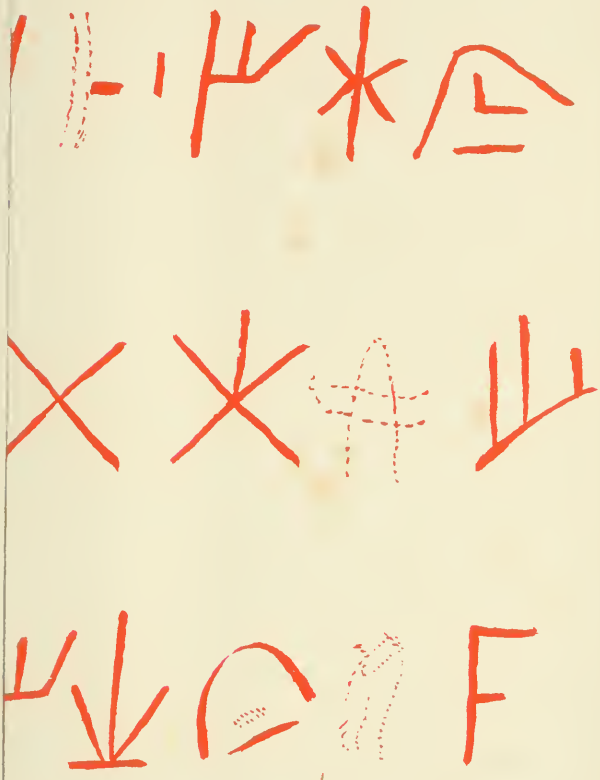
ON SOME CYPRIOTE ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED BY GENERAL DI CESNOLA AT GOLGOI.

By S. Birch, LL.D.

Read 5th January, 1875.

The excavations made by General di Cesnola, United States Consul at Larnaca, in Cyprus, at the ancient sites of Golgoi, Salamis, and Curium, have been productive of many fine monuments of art, and several inscriptions in the Cyprian, Greek, and Phœnician languages. It is not my intention at present to give an account of all the monuments discovered, but it is not possible to omit mention of all the interesting examples found; and amongst others which deserve remark is the so-called royal sarcophagus found in the spring of the past year at Golgoi. This, which is of the usual limestone of the country, resembles in many respects the coffins discovered from time to time in the Etruscan territory. It belongs to the Greek period, and is not older than the fourth century B.C. The top or cover is pointed, and has four lions crouching, two at each end, facing outwards; the sides have subjects in relief derived from Greek mythology. On one side is the death of Medusa by Perseus—the horse Arion and the girl Chrysaor springing out of the neck of the decapitated Medusa, while Perseus stands holding the *kibisis* or Cyprian wallet in which he carried off the head of the decapitated Gorgon. The other scenes of this sarcophagus represent a four-horse chariot or *tethrippos*, two *hoplitai* or armed warriors, chasing a boar, perhaps the celebrated boar of Kalydon, and two others attacking a bull, possibly Jason and the Cretan fire-breathing bulls. There is also a symposium or entertainment of four persons with *kitharistriai* or female musicians, with harps and pipes, and a boy waiter carrying round the

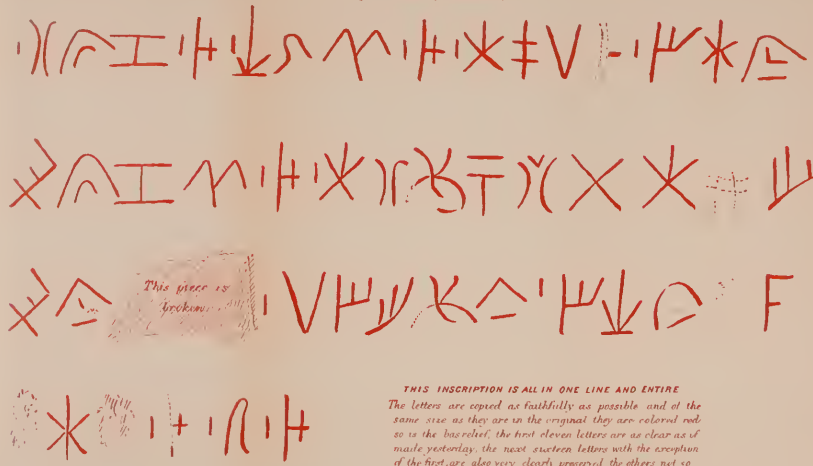
THE TEMPLE OF COLCOS



E LINE AND ENTIRE.

as possible and of the
al they are colored red
letters are as clear as if
letters with the exception
served, the others not so
worn out.

CYPRIOTE INSCRIPTION FOUND IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE TEMPLE OF COLCOS
BY GEN^{L} DI CESNOLA.



THIS INSCRIPTION IS ALL IN ONE LINE AND ENTIRE

The letters are copied as faithfully as possible and of the same size as they are in the original they are colored red so is the bas-relief, the first eleven letters are as clear as of marle yesterday, the next sixteen letters with the exception of the first, are also very clearly preserved the others not so well on account of the stone being worn out

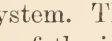
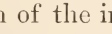
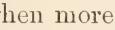
œnochoe or wine jug. This sarcophagus so much resembles vases of the older style of art, that it is probably of the 4th century B.C. Unfortunately it is not accompanied by any inscription either in the Cyprian or Greek character. Of the Roman period, and very late in it, is a glass vase discovered at the same site by the same explorer. The letters are in relief, as they almost always are on the Roman glass. They read ΜΕΓΗΣ ΕΠΟΗΣΕ 'Meges made' [it] the ϵ *epsilon* and c *sigma* being round, and the Η *eta* of a very late shape, perhaps not earlier than the third century A.D. A second inscription on the same vase reads ΜΝΗΣΘΗ Ο ΑΓΟΡΑΣΑΣ 'Let the buyer remember,' that is let the buyer recollect Meges made it, should he require another of the same manufacturer. Not having seen the vase itself, it is not possible for me to say from which of the ancient manufactories, Rome, Alexandria, or Sidon, it probably came. Among the objects decidedly of Cyprian fabric, is a lamp with a long flat upright handle to hang it up against a wall to illuminate an apartment; there being a hole for the purpose of affixing it at the top of the handle, and the lamp itself at the other end. These lamps are quite novel, and rarely if ever found in Greece or Italy, although several examples have been discovered at Cyprus. On the handle is a Silenus in relief, said to resemble a Colossus found at Amathus. Silenus is full-face, and round are four Cyprian letters 𐤉 𐤋 𐤕 𐤍 *pi-l-ti na*, or *i*, according to the alphabet of Brandis. In it may be a proper name such as '*Philitia*' or Philtias. Another small monument found at Salamis (see Plate) is an alabaster unguent vase of very unusual shape. It is more Oriental than Greek in type, having a cylindroid body tapering to the base, ornamented with two horizontal rectangular bands, and four perpendicular ones to the base of the neck with chevron lines; a horizontal band of plain lines, surmounted by another of ovolos, runs round the shoulder, and two small wings or handles project from the sides; a long cylindrical neck terminating in an expanding mouth completes the vase with a species of *alabastros* of unusual shape. The ten letters are disposed four on the upper part and six on the lower part of the body. Some clue to their arrangement is probably given by the fact that ǂ

is generally an initial and 𐠊𐠇 a final letter, so that the lower characters are to be read 𐠊𐠇𐠏𐠎𐠆𐠌𐠋, in this case the upper must be read 𐠄𐠎𐠌𐠉. It is evident that the values hitherto assigned to some of the letters are inadequate to explain all the inscriptions which have been discovered. The lower word indeed may be *Theanou* of Theanes, if read horizontally, but it is just possible, as two letters occur in two compartments, that it might be read vertically; but the meaning of short inscriptions is always difficult, if not doubtful, owing to the small Cypriote vocabulary known. If the first letters are to be read horizontally, the first word *κιγοβα*, or *κωνοβα*, according to the reading of Schmidt, would be the name of the vase, equivalent to alabastros or leythos, and the second that of the possessor, or 'the Kanoba vase of Theanus.' This vase was discovered on the site of Salamis. There was also discovered on the same spot the pediment in limestone (see Plate) of a small monument having the following subject in relief—two females standing draped in tunics, the *chiton poderes* reaching to the feet, their hands raised to the top of the head as if dividing the hair in the attitude of the Aphrodite Anadyomene. At each side of these two central figures is a lion of rather large proportions, and of archaic style, crouching and looking round with protruding tongue, and long spirally curled tail; while at each end of the pediment is a standing figure of a boy or youth draped, and holding his garment round his waist. The meaning of this group or composition is very obscure. On the moulding beneath the pediment is a line of Cyprian characters, unfortunately imperfect.

As in the previous case, the transliteration does not give any very certain result, the only word, as Professor Merx has suggested, being evident is 𐠅𐠋𐠎𐠉𐠀𐠆𐠊𐠇 *uergesias*. The words at the beginning, which are partly mutilated, probably were the commencement of the dedicator of the monument, if not the names of the gods to whom the monument was dedicated; one may be 𐠅𐠎𐠊.𐠅𐠋𐠎𐠊𐠇, but owing to the mutilation of the inscription at the beginning, even that is involved in uncertainty. The form

Pediment with Cypriote Inscription, found at Golgoi by General di Cesnola.

occurs on the Bronze Plate of Dali, but its meaning is not quite clear. Altogether this inscription offers considerable difficulties, and will probably require other monuments to explain it, for the meaning in its present condition appears very obscure. Besides the Cyprian inscription, General di Cesnola obtained a terra cotta jug of the shape known as the oenochoe or olpe, on which was scratched in Phœnician לאנתש Leantash, 'of Antosh,' the name of its proprietor. Several vases of this nature, some inscribed in black paint or ink, with the name of the proprietor in Phœnician, have been found at Dali, Golgoi, and other sites, and were no doubt placed upon them by their Phœnician proprietors. The above inscriptions have been communicated in letters, with accompanying photographs, by General di Cesnola, who has kindly allowed their publication. The mutilated condition of the inscription on the pediments prevents a satisfactory reading of the whole line of the inscription, and difficulties will always present themselves, owing to the Greek being transcribed by a syllabic instead of a purely alphabetic system. The great advance, however, made in the explanation of the inscriptions, will clear away much of the difficulty when more inscriptions are found, and the power of comparing the different words is increased; but the script itself differs according to the period when written, and there will always remain a certain ambiguity about some words on account of the difficulty of the palœography as well as that of the exact word, which lies dormant under the syllabic cloak in which it is enveloped.

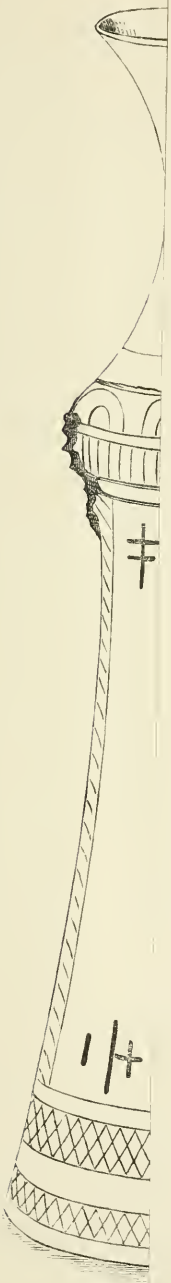
The object, however, of the present paper is rather to publish the inscriptions here represented than to enter anew on the subject of the interpretation of particular words, which would requīre considerable research to evolve, but the following are certain in the Cyprian portion,  at the end, preceded by the word  and the preceding word quoted in the previous page. The first word of the inscription in the fuller copy is read  and the second appears to be , the end of which is apparently *kathes*. The next word reads

, and is remarkable for the at the end of the word, which more rarely occurs than the final which ends so many of the common forms, and the repetition of which final *s* shows the language to be Hellenic, in conjunction with the constant appearance of the prefixed *t*, the article in many names,—these being both common Greek forms, the last of which lingered till a late period in such words as *talla* and *tanta*.

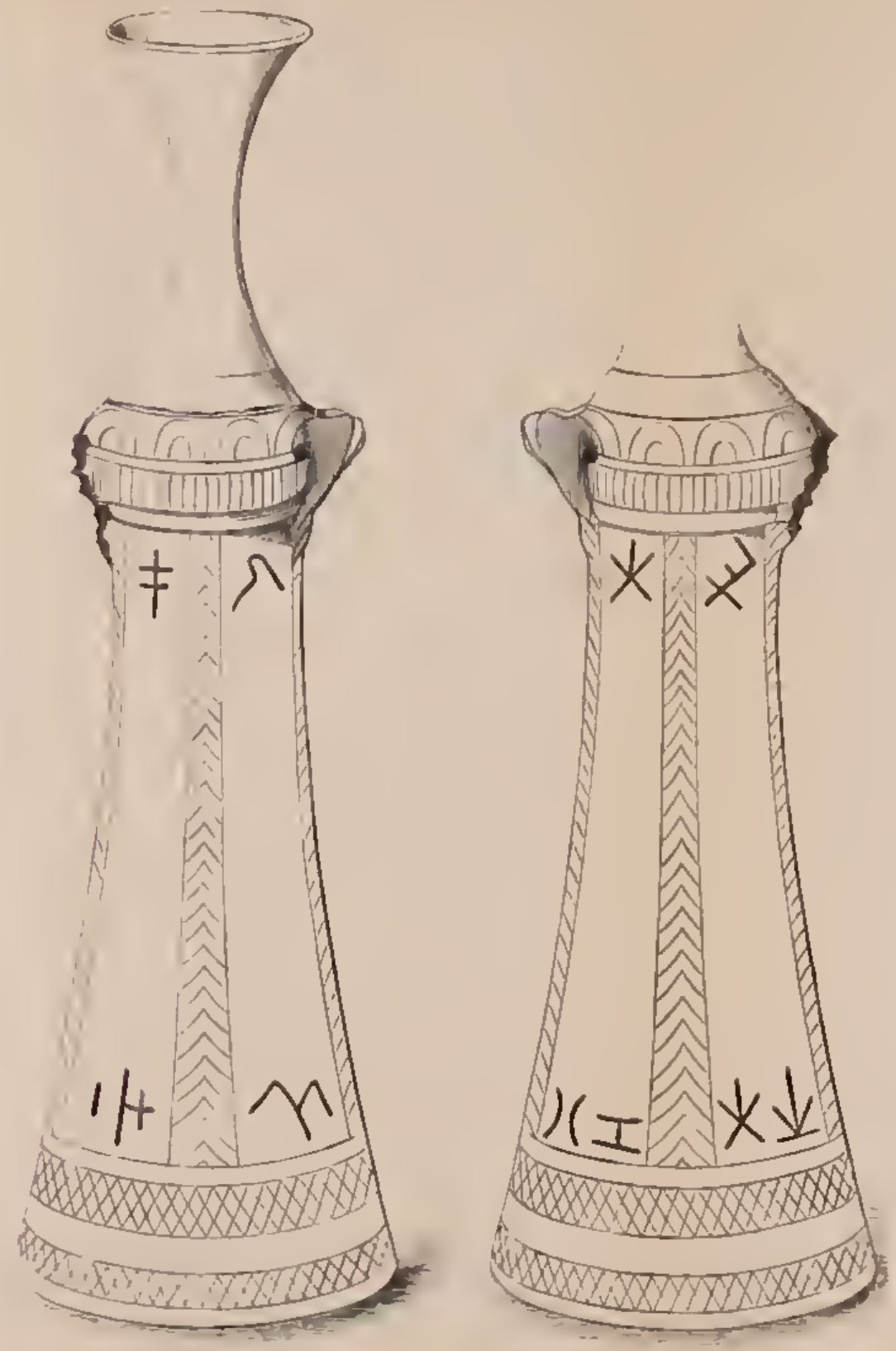
In the application of the Greek language to the inscriptions, and the assumption that certain words must be represented in some Cyprian forms, and the consequent deductions of the values of individual characters in consequence, great divergence will hereafter necessarily arise, but a certain check will always be held over these conclusions by the occasional discoveries of bilingual inscriptions, which will control and help to prove or confute the values thus derived.

The difficulty of interpreting these ancient and dead languages depends very much on the amount of material at the disposal of the student, and short inscriptions are always the most arduous to interpret. At present, with the exception of the Bronze Tablet of Idalion, no inscription in the Cypriote characters of any length has been found, most of them being short. There is, however, one peculiarity in the Cypriote, that it rarely uses, except on coins, contractions, and does not present the same peculiarity as the Etruscan and Roman of offering to the inquirer the enigma of incomplete words.

Alabaster



Alabaster Vase found at Golgoi by General di Cesnola.



ON HUMAN SACRIFICE AMONG THE BABYLONIANS.

By Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.

Read 2nd February, 1875.

The sacrifice of the first-born in honour of the Sun-god was one of the most notorious rites of ancient Semitic worship. Not of *all* Semitic worship, however. While the horrible practice was of common occurrence among Phœnicians and Hebrews and Aramæans, traces of it are doubtful and scanty among the south-western Semites of Arabia and Æthiopia. Now the northern branch of the Semitic family is precisely the one which was closely connected with Babylonia in language, culture, mythology, and tradition. The so-called Assyrian language of Assyria and Babylonia is more nearly related to Hebrew than to any other Semitic idiom; it was from the shores of the Persian Gulf that the Phœnicians believed themselves to have migrated, while Ur, the primitive capital of Chaldea, was the birthplace of Abraham; and the ancient legends of Babylonia find their parallels in Phœnician story and Hebrew tradition. Such being the case, it is natural to look to Babylonia for instances of the sacrifice of the first-born, similar to those that we find among the kindred populations of the West. Here, too, the worship of the Sun-god and of the powers of nature held a foremost place in the national creed, and gave rise to a rich mythology and the growth of an epic cycle.

The first poem or lay of this epic cycle, into which were interwoven twelve older independent lays, embodying some of the most favourite myths of the people, seems to have been one on "*the Sacrifice of Bel*," or, as it is also called, "*the Sacrifice of Righteousness*." The epic was arranged on an astronomical basis, each of its twelve component lays

answering to the name of a sign of the Zodiac and of the corresponding month. Just as the 11th book, which recounted the story of the Deluge, answered to Aquarius, the 11th sign of the Zodiac, and the 11th or "rainy" month of the ancient Babylonian Calendar, so the first book must have answered to the first sign of the Zodiac and the first month of the year, which were termed the sign and month of "*the Sacrafice of Bel.*" We are reminded at once of the Phœnician myth which told how El—the Phœnician Bel—offered up his first-born *Ye[d]ûd*[1], "the beloved," in time of trouble, by burning him on a high place; and of the parallel offered by the Biblical narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac.

Now the poems of the epic, together with the religion and mythology upon which they were founded, were borrowed by the Semitic Babylonians from their Turanian predecessors, the Accadians. As I tried to point out in a paper read before this Society three years ago[2], and as has since been more fully worked out by Professor Schrader[3], writing and civilisation, theology, art and science, were derived by the northern Semites—the Aramæans, Canaanites and Hebrews—from those Accadian builders of the great cities of Chaldæa, who invented the cuneiform characters. It was in Accadian, not in Semitic, that the first month and zodiacal sign were named after "the Sacrifice of Bel," and from this the inference follows that it is to Accad, and not to Phœnicia, that we must look for the origin of human sacrifice in Western Asia. It was not only the worship of the Sun, and all that it implied, which was borrowed by the Semite from the Accadian, but the dreadful rites with which it was associated as well.

This inference is verified by two cuneiform texts in which mention is made of human sacrifice. One of these texts is part of an Accadian poem, to which an Assyrian translation is attached, and which therefore goes back to præ-Semitic times; the other is a passage from the great astronomical work drawn up for the library of Sargon of Agané between

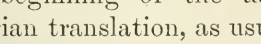
[1] I accept Bunsen's correction of the manifestly incorrect *Yeud* of the Greek text.

[2] Published in the Transactions of the Society, Vol. I, pp. 294, 299.

[3] "Die Abstammung der Chaldäer und die Ursitze Semiten," in Z. D. M. G., Vol. XXVII, pt. iii. (1873).

2,000 and 1,700 B.C., and based on Accadian originals. Attention has been drawn to the first text by M. Fr. Lenormant, in his "Premières Civilisations," Vol. II, p. 197, and the following copy of it I owe to the kindness of Mr. Boscawen.[1] The beginning of the tablet is unfortunately lost; the Assyrian translation, as usual, is interlinear.

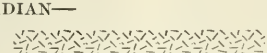
ACCADIAN—

1. 

. . . . . [kha] - e - in - de

. . . . . *may he extirpate;*

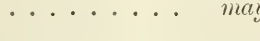
ASSYRIAN—

2. 

Ana (?) li - iś - śi' - va

the sin (?) *may he extirpate*[2]*; and*

ACCADIAN—

3. 

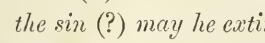
biru gar sak - il[3] - lá

the offspring who the head raises

nam - D.P. - mu - lu - ge

among mankind;—

ASSYRIAN—

4. 

'u - ri - tsu[4] [sa-risa-nas-]u sa a-ve- lu - ti[5]

the offspring who raises the head among mankind;—

[1] A copy of the tablet (the first two lines excepted) is given, with a translation, by M. Lenormant, in the recently-published 1st Part of the 2nd Vol. of his "*Études Accadiennes*," pp. 297–299. The tablet is marked K 5139.

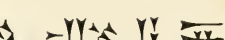
[2] Third sing. pret. Kal. Heb. נסע.

[3] *Gadhu*, "high," was pronounced *ili* or *il* in Accadian. *Á* is the participial (or relative) ending.

[4] Cf. Ar. ورص "to lay eggs."

[5] Fem. abstract of *'avelu*, "a man"; perhaps from a root אול, whence אול, "mighty man," "possessor." It is possible, however, that the *e* of the second syllable implies an original *á yin* in the first syllable. We might then compare עול "a suckling" or "youngster."

Accadian—

5. 

biru zi[1] - a - ni - cu ba - an - śun

the offspring his-life-for he gave it;

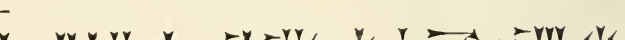
Assyrian—

6.

'u - ri -tsa ana na - pis - ti -su it - ta -din

(his) offspring for his life he gave;

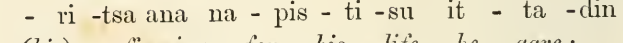
Accadian—

7. 

sak biru sak - mulu - cu ba - an - śun

the head of the offspring head-of-the-man-for he gave it;

Assyrian—

8. 

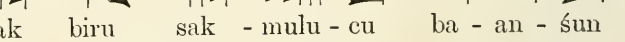
kik - kad 'u - ri - tsi ana kak - kad nisi

the head of the offspring for the head of the man

it - ta - din

he gave;

Accadian—

9. 

tik[2] biru tik - mulu - cu ba - an - śun

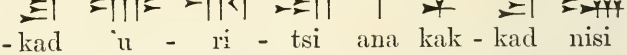
the front of the offspring for-the-front-of the-man he gave it;

Assyrian—

10.

ci - sad 'u - ri - tsi ana ci - sad nisi

the front of the offspring for the front of the man



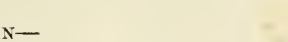
it - ta - din

he gave;

[1] Also *zil*, with the suffix *l* (*la*).

[2] *Tik* is rendered *makhru* "before," and *makhirtu* "front."

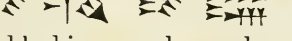
Accadian—

11. 

gab[1] biru gab - mulu - cu ba - an - śun

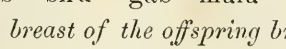
the breast of the offspring breast-of-the-man-for he gave it;

Assyrian—

12. 

ir - ti 'u - ri - tsi ana ir - ti nisi

the breast of the offspring for the breast of the man

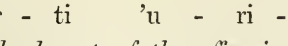


it - ta - din

he gave.

This highly interesting text gives us distinct evidence of the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice among the Accadians, as well as of the Accadian origin of the sacrifice of the first-born. Nothing is said as to the way in which the child was put to death, but the passage I shall now quote informs us that it was by burning on a high place.

W.A.I. III, 60, 161.[2]

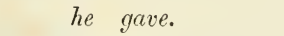
1. 

ina arkhi Sivāni istu yumi I. adi yumi XXX.

In the month Sivan, from the first day to the 30th day,

an - ta - lu it - tab - liv sibirri

an eclipse failed; the crops



mati lâ dumki

of the land not prosperous.

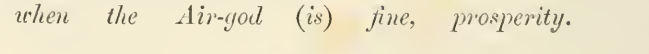
[1] *Gab* is rendered *makharu*, "before." *'Irti* is perhaps from עָרָה, عار "to be naked," like עוֹר "skin."

[2] Translated in my Paper on the "Astronomy of the Babylonians," in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. III, pt. i, p. 274.

2.

enuva D.P. Rammânu ca -su- ru[1] se - gu - uv

when the Air-god (is) fine, prosperity.



ina niduti[2] 'ablu a - ru - ur.[3]

On the high places the son is burnt.

Here, then, we have clear indications of the sacrifice of children such as it took place at Carthage, in Phœnicia, and in Palestine. The northern Semites seem to have carried the rite with them to the west, and may perhaps have taught it to the Aryan nations of Europe.

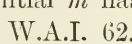
The latter, however, is a point upon which I shall not now dwell. It is certain that in later days human sacrifice was practised at Rome, as indeed might have been expected from a people whose chief delight was to witness a gladiatorial show. But human sacrifice among the Greeks is a much more doubtful matter. The theory that it was replaced by scourging before the altar of Artemis at Sparta, has little to recommend it, and if any conclusions are to be drawn from myths like that of Iphigeneia among the Taurians, it is that the practice was regarded by the Greeks as distinctly barbaric and non-Hellenic. At all events the Rig-Veda knows of no more costly sacrifice than that of the horse, and all our evidence tends to show that it was utterly unknown to the primitive European Aryans. Myths like those of Athamas and Iphigeneia are but the misunderstood and forgotten

[1] Cf. Heb. Aram. כשר "to be good," "to thrive," "to be prosperous."

[2] The Accadian *ci-par* ("place of light"?) is rendered by the Ass. *suluv* (shaphel pass. derivative of עלה), *nidutu* (Ar. نَشَأ), and *tericti* (from ארך "to extend").

[3] '*Arur* is a somewhat anomalous form of a passive (or neuter) permansive Kal from ארר "to burn." The *i* of the second syllable is changed into *u*, after the example of the nomen mutati *Sacun* (see my *Ass. Grammar*, p. 106), as in the case of a few other neuter verbs. is translated by *isatu* "fire," *khamanu* ("heat"), *nararu* and *arur*. Cf. Heb. יהר, תנור, נר ("to burn"), Ar. نَارٌ ("fire"), نَارَ ("to shine.")

metaphors of an early nature-worship, and we cannot infer the practice of human sacrifice from them, any more than we can conclude that Greek fathers were in habit of eating their children, from the myth of Kronos and his offspring. It is just possible, however, that the legend which makes Busiris, the Egyptian king of the Delta, attempt to sacrifice Herakles, had an historical basis in the religious rites of the Phœnician settlers at the mouth of the Nile. For instances, real or supposed, of human sacrifice, especially among Semites and Aryans, see Kalisch's "Leviticus," pt. 1, pp. 323–351, 381–396, and Döllinger's "Jew and Gentile" (as translated by Darnell, I, pp. 74–85, II, 37–91.)

Postscript.—The Cassite deity identified by the Assyrians with the Babylonian Bel, whose name I have given[1] as *Kharbat* or *Murbat* ( ), must be read *Mur-us* or *Murdus*. In a newly-discovered fragment of the Synchronous History Tablet, the word is written  *Uru-du-is*, where the initial *m* has been dropped after first becoming *v;* while in W.A.I. 62, 24, we are told to read as *Urus* (= Assyrian *tirtuv*, a "form" or "figure"). This is a fresh instance of the elision of the dental between two vowels. It is just possible that the Mardokentes and Sisimardokas who appear among the kings of the "Arabian" dynasty in Berosus may have been named after this Cassite god *Murdus*, rather than after Merodach.

[1] In my paper on "The Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam and Media" in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. III, part ii, p. 476.

ON A KARAITE TOMBSTONE BROUGHT FROM DJUFFET KALEA, IN THE CRIMEA.

By Rev. Dr. L. Löewe.

Read 2nd March, 1875.

This inscription I read as follows :—

Line 1. הזקן
„ 2. הכהן הב . .
„ 3. יפת בר יהו . .
„ 4. יוסף הנורי
„ 5. אלינאר

הזקן "the old man." This word does not always indicate, that the individual to whom it refers, was full of years: it signifies sometimes, "distinguished by learning and experience."

הכהן "the priest," must not be taken in the sense of "officiating priest," as the word would be understood when referring to a person in any non-Israelite community. Among Israelites, since the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem, it simply signifies, that the individual to whom it refers, was a descendant of the "High-priest Aaron"; certain marks of respect are shown to him in the Synagogue, and he must not defile himself for the dead among his people (Lev. xxi, 1). In accordance with an injunction of the Sacred Scripture, he pronounces, on solemn festivals, the blessing prescribed in Numbers vi, 22-27; and every first-born son, after the thirtieth day from the child's birth, must be redeemed from him with the amount of $2\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of pure silver, equal to the weight of 1,920 grains of barley. (See Exodus xxx, 13; Lev. xxvii, 6; Talmud Treatise Bekhorot, p. 49*b*, and Yoré Deah, sect. 305, § 1.)

Karaite Tombstone now in the British Museum.

הב. These two letters forming part of a word which is not complete, it is difficult to say what the word may have been intended for. As the letter כ may perhaps be a part of the letter מ, especially as the lower part of כ is, in the inscription, more extended than the upper part, leaving room for the ו to be added, the two letters המ might possibly be a part of the word הַמְּכֻבָּד, signifying "the honoured," which attribute is often used among the Karaites when describing the character or rank of a person. Thus in a manuscript Bible which I saw in the Karaite Synagogue during my stay at Cairo, we find on the blank page preceding the title the following inscription :—

קדש ליוי אלדים אלדי ישראל
לא ימכר ולא יגאל הקדיש אותו
כגק הש הח הת המ

"Consecrated unto the Eternal God, the God of Israel—not to be sold nor redeemed. It has been consecrated by His Great Holiness, the Perfect, the Wise, the Innocent, *the Honoured*"; the letters המ being the abbreviated form of הַמְּכֻבָּד. Among the Rabbanites we generally find the word הַנִּכְבָּד.

יפת בר יהו "Japhet, the son of Jehu." The last word, which is incomplete, may have been intended for "יהודה" Jehuda.

יוסף הנורי Joseph Hanoori ("the enlightened," or "who can see far by the light of his intellect";) the word נור being the Arabic نور, and הנורי would be the same as النورى. A prophet in Hebrew is known by the name of הָרֹאֶה, "the Seer," because by the light of his prophetic vision, as R. David Kimkhee[1] says, he sees into the future.

שרואה במראה הנבואה
העתידית

[1] Commentary on 1 Samuel, chap. ix, v. 9.

A learned and distinguished man, bears in the Talmud[1] the appellation of נְהוֹרָאִי, the Syriac ܢܗܘܪܝ, because, as it is observed there, he enlightens the eyes of the students in the law.

ולמה נקרא שמו ר״ נהוראי שמנהיר עיני חכמים בהלכה

In the same Treatise, p. 38*b* and 45*a*, a man of great learning is mentioned of the name of R. Yokhánán ben Noori ר״ יוחנן בן נורי; and, as it happened that there has been a Karaite author of the name יוסף הָרֹאֶה, "Joseph Haroeh" (the Seer): he wrote a book entitled ספר האביב, and was known among the Arabs by the name and attribute of Aboo Jacoob, "Elbaseer," ابويعقوب البصير, which is merely the translation of הָרֹאֶה. I am not quite out of order by bringing the idea to bear on the word הנורי, in the inscription now before us.

אלנגאר is the Arabic word النجار, and signifies "the carpenter." This word, I am inclined to think, ought not to be taken as signifying the trade of the person to whom it referred;—the inscription being on marble, shows that he must have belonged to a family of high standing. The family name of אלנגאר might suggest, that the person here mentioned was a descendant of the famous Israel Najarah, اسرائل نجاره author of a book containing religious hymns, entitled זְמִירוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל, printed in Safed, Holy Land, in the year 1587, or a relative of Moses Najarah, the father of the above, who was the author of a book entitled לקח טוב, printed in Constantinople, in the year 1571. But the name Japhet יפת, which is so rarely met with among the Rabbanites, and, on the contrary, so frequently met with among the Karaites, makes me think, that the individual in question most likely belonged to a Karaite family; and, as the inscription states that Japhet was a כהן, it is possible, he may have been a relative of the family משה בן יפת בן משה הכהן, "Moses ben Japhet ben

[1] Treatise Eroobin, p. 13*b*.

Moses Hacohen," whose members were known as great collectors of books; or, he may perhaps have been a relative of "Joseph Haroeh" himself, the name of the latter in full being יוסף אברהם בן הכהן הרֹאה, and has also been known, according to some authors, by the attribute אלנהוֹרָאי, and הזקן, so that the words הנורי כהן and הזקן in the inscription, might refer to him (See Pinsker's Lickute Kadmoniot, pp. 115 and 169).

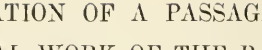
The piece of marble bearing the inscription may probably have been brought by one of the English soldiers from the Karaite Cemetery in Djuffet Kalea جفت قلعه or جفّة in the Crimea.

This is all I can say of the few words contained in the fragment of a tombstone.

REVISED TRANSLATION OF A PASSAGE IN THE GREAT ASTRONOMICAL WORK OF THE BABYLONIANS.

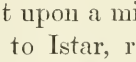
By Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.

Read 6th April, 1875.

The last line of the Colophon attached to the first tablet or book of the great astronomical work of the Babylonians, published in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, III. 1, p. 315, is somewhat obscure, and the translation that I have given of it must be emended. The characters are not to be read phonetically and taken to represent a Semitic word, as I once thought, but are Accadian; while, conversely, the groupof characters which follows is not Accadian, but Semitic. This uncertainty as to whether we are dealing with a Semitic or an Accadian word illustrates the chief difficulty attendant on the decipherment of these astronomical inscriptions. The line in question is written  . About the first word *a-na* "to" or "for" there can be no question; but the next word must be read *tsa-mar*, and separated from the character which follows. *Tsa-mar* is connected with the Aram. צְמַר "to glow," צְמָרָא "heat," צְמִירְתָּא "burning"; and in the bilingual tablets is a synonyme of *zarakhu* (Heb. זרח) "to rise" or "dawn." The final vowel of the word is not expressed in writing, according to a common practice among the Assyrians, who allowed the case-ending to be understood if the last syllable was denoted by a character which began and ended with a consonant. will be the preposition *ina*, and is the Accadian "divine place," which is explained by the Assyrian *nalbarsame* or "zenith." We thus get "for the meridian" (or possibly "the rising") "in the zenith," as the rendering of

the first part of this difficult line. The first two characters of the verb which follows must be read *ip-tal*, the verb being in the Iphteal conjugation; but as I do not know what phonetic value to assign to the last character in this place, although it ought to begin with *l*, I cannot venture to translate the word. Probably, however, it means "he has noted"; and the whole Colophon will have to be rendered:—(1) "The first tablet (beginning) 'the moon at its appearance (showed) whiteness'; (2) according to the papyri of the tablets in parallel columns [Assyrian and Accadian] from Babylon; (3) by Nebo-Zukup-cinu, son of Merodach-mubasa the astronomer; (4) for the sight of himself and his cotemporaries; (5) according to the meridian (*or* rising) in the zenith he has *noted*."

Before leaving the passage, I would note that *tsamar* may be connected with *tsarar* or *tsirir*, which will be found in a tablet translated on p. 193. I have there rendered it "body"; but it is more probably related to צָהַר "light," Aram. טַהַר, Arab. ظهر and hence strictly signifies "brightness" or "rising." I now think, therefore, that the two lines in which *tsiri* and *tsarar* occur ought to be: (1) "The star (Jupiter) rises, and its rising, like the day, is bright. (2) In its rising, like the blade of a double sword, a tail it forms." This would refer to the streak of light thrown by the rising planet upon a misty atmosphere.

In a hymn to Istar, recently brought from Assyria by Mr. Smith, I find *sereti* (l. 40) given as the Assyrian rendering of the Accadian  *par-zalla* or "sun-rise." This fixes the meaning of *sereti* in p. 199 of my paper, as well probably as of *serim* (p. 224) and *serrim* (p. 198). The first passage must therefore be translated, "Venus in the month Sebat rises at dawn."

ON A DIGRAPHIC INSCRIPTION FOUND IN LARNACA.

By D. Pieridés.

Read 6th April, 1875.

The fortunate discovery of a bilingual inscription by Mr. R. H. Lang, and his demolition of the Duc de Luynes' theory respecting the value of the group 𐤉 𐤏 𐤁 𐤄 𐤇 ; the simultaneous exhibition in London of many Cypriote texts collected by General di Cesnola and Mr. Lang; and the masterly treatment of the problem of Cyprian Palæography by Mr. G. Smith, of the British Museum, were soon to be followed by the brilliant achievements of Brandis and of Moritz Schmidt.

To the literary results which have been obtained, the Society of Biblical Archæology has contributed in no small measure, from the very commencement of its labours, by stimulating the study of this ancient writing, and by the publication of several valuable papers relating thereto, in the first volume of its Transactions.

Encouraged by the interest thus shown by the Society, I take the liberty of submitting a small contribution to the subject.

In the summer of 1873 I became possessed of an inscription in Greek and in Cypriote, then discovered in Larnaca, the ancient Citium. As far as I know this is the first Cypriote text found in this place. As the language is the same in both parts, and only the writing differs, I prefer calling this inscription *digraphic*, instead of *bilingual*, until a better definition is proposed. The stone on which it is engraved, now sadly mutilated, measures 26 inches by 13 inches on the surface; the depth is 16 inches, and the original space between the upper edge of the stone and the first line was only about an inch. On the side opposite the digraphic is a later Greek inscription of the time of the Romans.

I annex a transcription of the digraphic, as well as of some "squeezes." The two Greek inscriptions are seriously injured; the Cypriote is damaged to a smaller extent. This last is read from right to left.

The letters in the Greek part of the digraphic preceding *Στασικράτης*, and seemingly forming one single word, are irretraceably gone, except vestiges of two, which I consider to be the two first of the inscription, and which look like IA ... This gap is much to be regretted, as I do not see its counterpart in the Cypriote; and where so much is left to conjecture, particularly as regards persons to whom a historical interest attaches, a positive indication, be it ever so small, is of the highest importance. The remaining lacunæ of the Greek text are easily filled in by the aid of the Cypriote; though it would have been more satisfactory if the second name had been preserved, in order to positively fix the value of the sign 𐠀; but I think Dr. M. Schmidt is right in taking it for an *a*.

Of the Cypriote portion of the digraphic, the only group that offers any serious difficulty is also the first, which, allowing sufficient space for the point of separation from the next word, must have consisted of four letters. The first and third are plain and recognisable; the fourth is almost entirely erased; the second is so very like the first, that I always took it also for an 𐠊; and I worked upon this presumption, giving various phonetic values to the last sign of the group; but the results obtained were unsatisfactory. So I recently took fresh squeezes of that particular group, and I was agreeably surprised to observe that the upturned angles of the second letter lie closer to each other than those of the first; that their limbs are shorter; and that in the second letter, over the horizontal line at the base, another horizontal line is faintly—very faintly—visible. The second sign is therefore 𐠋 so; the fourth letter, or what remains of it, resembles more a 𐠍 *ν*, than anything else; and thus we have *ὁ Σόλωνν—Σόλωνν* being here the genitive of the masculine plural *Σόλοι* (Soli), the name given in honour of the great Athenian legislator to a town which, by his advice,

was built to replace the more ancient Aipeia:[1] *ὁ Σόλων Βασιλεὺς* (the King of Soli Stasicrates, &c.). I hope the reading now proposed will meet with the approbation of more competent decipherers than myself.

In the first group of the second line, the fourth and fifth characters, though partially injured, can easily be made out; the third is as bad as lost; but, on close examination, it may be identified with ⊢, which is the right thing in the right place. Dr. Moritz Schmidt has already pointed out the name of the Goddess of Wisdom in the bronze plate of Idalion.

The two names of persons occur also in the Cypriote inscription from Soli, published by the Count de Vogüé (Journal Asiatique, Juin, 1868, pl. IV, No. 8), but, unfortunately, one of the characters in Stasicrates is partly obliterated in both inscriptions; nevertheless, in the digraphic before us, it is a little better preserved, resembling in form, and no doubt corresponding to, the sign Ϙ, often repeated in the Bronze Plate of Idalion, and which Dr. Schmidt also reads as *ρ*. The name Stasicrates is also seen, but not entire, on one of the coins published by the Duc de Luynes (plate V, No. 2). In the digraphic, Stasicrates is the son of a King Stasias; whereas, in the Soli inscription, Stasias being in the nominative, and Stasicrates in the genitive (*Στασικράτεος*), the relative position of the parties is reversed, and three generations appear before us. For reasons which will be explained in the sequel, I consider the Larnaca digraphic as being the older of the two; and thus we have:

—Stasias,[2] king, father of
—Stasicrates, king, father of
—Stasias, *ἄναξ*, or prince.

The Soli inscription I take to be the more recent, because of the finer style and more modern appearance of the writing: another reason is the title borne by the Soli Stasias. Byzantios, in his Greek Lexicon (Athens, 1852), under the

[1] See Plutarch in Solon.

[2] The *name* Stasias occurs in Corp. Inscr., No. 1758

word ἄναξ, gives a second meaning to it, besides the one generally accepted: and that meaning, he says, was *peculiar to Cyprus*: "υἱός ἢ συγγενὴς βασιλέως." It might be objected that the ἄναξ of the Soli inscription became afterwards Βασιλεὺς, and was the *father*, not the *son*, of the Stasicrates of the digraphic; but I think the objection need not be entertained. I must not forget to observe that the Soli inscription is only a fragment, so that the regal title of Stasicrates is missing there.

Remark a curious coincidence. The inscription of Stasias the prince, son of Stasicrates, comes from Soli, and the Larnaca digraphic speaks of Stasicrates king of Soli. Now Plutarch, in his life of Alexander the Great, mentions a Pasicrates king of Soli, who, on Alexander's return to Phœnicia from Egypt (B.C. 331), appeared at the court of the Macedonian hero, and took a prominent part in its festivities. I cannot help thinking that this king is the Stasicrates of our inscriptions, and that his transformation into Pasicrates may be owing to one of the many errors committed by copyists. Some such errors, relating to the history of this island, have been pointed out by me in a paper on the Coins of Nisocreon, published in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1869, and other examples are not wanting, as we all know.[1] In point of chronology there would be no difficulty, as, judging from the letters of the Greek portion of the digraphic, I would assign to it the 4th century B.C.; and the Count de Vogüé, in speaking of the Soli inscription, inclines to the belief that this last belongs to the Macedonian epoch; and his opinion (*un*like mine) is unbiased, because given before the Cypriote writing was deciphered.

One of the Cypriote princes who followed Alexander into Central Asia was Stasanor of Soli, son or brother of the king Pasicrates, but not a reigning prince.[2] The particulars correspond admirably with the description of Stasias in the

[1] The King of Soli, who was the host and friend of Solon, is by some authors called Pasicyprus, and by others, Cypranor. See Engel, "Kypros," vol. I; and Lacroix, "Iles de la Grèce."

[2] Engel, vol. I, page 357.

Soli inscription—*ἄναξ*, not *βασιλεὺς*, and the son of Stasicrates (or Pasicrates). There is certainly a slight difference between Stasanor and the name as it appears in Cypriote; but we are not quite certain as to the value of the sign O; and we must always make allowances for the mistakes of early transcribers.

All these circumstances are strongly in support of the presumption that in the Stasicrates of the Larnaca inscription, and in the Stasias of the Soli fragment, we have the Pasicrates and the Stasanor (father and son), the friends of Alexander the Great.

The later Greek inscription on the surface of the Larnaca stone, opposite the digraphic, is very much injured, as I said. A correct copy, in small letters, of what remains of this inscription, is subjoined.

Larnaca, Cyprus, February, 1875.

THE LATER GREEK INSCRIPTION.

Τὸ Κοινὸν τὸ Κυπρίων Τιβέριον
Κλαυ[———*Μν*]*ασέου υἱὸν*
[———*Μνασ*]*έαν Λούκιον*
[———*ἀρ*]*χιερέα τῶν*
[———]*ιτι*[———]

in the last line, perhaps *Κιτι* ....

..... ΣΤΑΣΙΚΡΑΙ ..... ΕΩΣ ..... ΗΙΑΘΗΝΑΙΑΝΕΘΗΚ–ΤΥΧΗΙΑΓΑΘΗΙ

.... *Στασικράτ*[*ης ὁ Βασιλ*]*έως* [*Στασία τ*]*ῆ Ἀθηνᾷ ἀνέθηκε τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ.*

Ὁ Σόλω[*ν*] *Βασιλεὺς Στασικράτης ὁ Βασιλέως Στασίαυ τ' Ἀθάναι ἀνέθηκε 'ιν τὺχᾳ.*

LES QUATRE RACES AU JUGEMENT DERNIER.

Par E. Lefébure.

Read 6th April, 1875.

M. Chabas a signalé [1] l'analogie remarquable qui existe entre les croyances chrétiennes et les idées égyptiennes au sujet du jugement dernier; des deux côtés les justes sont placés à droite, et les méchants (condamnés au feu ou à la chaudière) à gauche. La même disposition se retrouve généralement dans les tombes royales, où le soleil nocturne traverse en barque des scènes de béatitude et de supplices. Le célèbre tableau des quatre races fait partie d'une de ces représentations, touchant laquelle on peut consulter les notices de Champollion et les Denkmaeler. [2] La traduction qui va suivre a été faite d'après le sarcophage de Séti I, publié par M M. Sharpe et Bonomi, [3] et étudié par M. Pierret. [4] L'interprétation consciencieuse de M. Pierret eût rendu celle-ci inutile, s'il ne restait à mettre en lumière un point important, celui de la création des hommes, dont la légende ne paraît pas encore avoir été expliquée d'une manière satisfaisante, bien qu'elle ait attiré depuis longtemps l'attention des égyptologues. [5]

La scène entière se divise en trois séries superposées, mais il n'y a là, comme dans les dessins chinois, qu'un artifice

[1] Mélanges égyptologiques, 3e série, t. II, p. 168 à 172.

[2] Denkmæler, III, 136.

[3] Cf. Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions.

[4] Revue Archéologique, Mai, 1870.

[5] Champollion, Lettres écrites d'Égypte et de Nubie, 13e lettre; De Rougé, Mémoire sur les six premières dynasties, p. 9; Chabas, Etudes sur l'antiquité historique, p. 98, etc.

de perspective échelonnant le milieu, la droite et la gauche, qui ne pouvaient, en effet, figurer sur le même plan, puisque les tableaux égyptiens ne montrent les personnages que de profil. A la droite de Ra, on mesure des champs pour les élus, et à sa gauche on amène le troupeau des humains pour y choisir les âmes qui seront détruites. La création des quatre races composant l'espèce humaine est attribuée, sauf pour les Nègres, aux pleurs d'Horus et à la déesse Sekhet, une des personnifications de l'œil d'Horus, le soleil. Les textes disent que les hommes étaient nés de l'œil et les dieux de la bouche de Ra ou d'Horus, et l'on retrouvera un symbolisme analogue, faisant venir les plantes et les bêtes d'une émanation divine, dans un papyrus magique traduit par M. Birch.[1]

Au sarcophage de Séti I,[2] en C, la barque solaire sort par la porte que garde le serpent Tek-her, ou *Face étincelante;* le dieu est représenté sous la forme d'un criocéphale debout dans un naos qu'entoure de ses replis le serpent Mehen. Sau est à la proue, Hakau à la poupe, et quatre personnages nommés *les infernaux* remorquent la barque avec une corde vers la porte Neb-t-Hau, *les maîtresse de la durée.* Devant eux neuf dieux en gaîne tiennent un long serpent, *les porteurs du serpent Nenut'i,* précédés par 12 hommes, *les âmes humaines qui sont dans l'enfer,* en marche vers un dieu à sceptre qui leur fait face, *celui qui est sur son angle.*

A droite, en B, 12 hommes, dans une posture d'adoration, *les adorateurs qui sont dans l'enfer,* et 12 *porteurs de corde dans* (l'enfer), se dirigent vers quatre personnages à sceptre, tournés en face d'eux.

On voit à gauche, en D, Horus héracocéphale, appuyé sur un long bâton, 16 hommes appelés *les Hommes, les Amu, les Nahesu et les Tamehu,* (les Egyptiens, les Asiatiques, les Nègres et les Libyens), 12 personnages portant comme une corde un long serpent (symbole probable de la marche du temps), que surmonte derrière chacun d'eux, sauf le dernier, l'hiéroglyphe de la durée, *les porteurs de l'emblème de la*

[1] Revue Archéologique, 1863.

[2] Pl. 7, 6 et 5.

durée dans l'Occident, et enfin huit dieux, *les divins magistrats de l'enfer.*

B. Ils rendent hommage à Ra dans l'Occident, et réconfortent Har-khuti ; ils ont connu Ra sur la terre, et ont fait des oblations pour lui ; leurs offrandes sont à leurs places, et leurs honneurs dans le lieu saint de l'Occident. Ils disent à Ra, " Viens, Ra ! Remonte l'enfer ! Hommage à toi ! Entre dans les chapelles (qui sont) dans le serpent Mehen ! " Ra leur dit, " Offrandes pour vous, Bienheureux ! J'ai été satisfait de ce que vous faites pour moi, (soit que) je brille à l'Orient du ciel, (soit que) je me couche dans le sanctuaire de mon œil." Leurs aliments sont (faits) des pains de Ra, et leurs breuvages de sa liqueur T'eser ; leur refraîchissement est de l'eau ; il y a des oblations pour eux, à terre, à cause de l'hommage (qu'ils rendent) à Ra dans l'Occident.

Les porteurs de corde, ceux qui préparent les champs des Elus, " prenez la corde, tirez, mesurez les champs des Mânes, qui sont des Elus dans vos demeures, des Dieux en vos résidences, Elus divinisés dans la campagne de la Paix, Elus vérifiés pour être dans (l'enceinte de) la corde ; la justification est pour ceux qui (y) sont, et il n'y a pas de justification pour ceux qui n' (y) sont pas." Ra leur dit, " C'est la justice, la corde dans l'Occident. Ra est satisfait par le mesurage en coudées des possessions de ceux qui sont des Dieux, et des domaines de ceux qui sont des Elus. Ra crée vos champs, et désigne pour vous vos aliments, qui sont avec vous."

" Oh ! navigue, Khuti ! Les Dieux sont satisfaits de leurs possessions, les Elus sont satisfaits de leurs demeures." Leurs aliments sont dans la campagne d'Aru, et leurs offrandes sont (faites) de ce qu'elle produit. Il y a des oblations pour eux, à terre, dans les champs de la campagne d'Aru. Ra leur dit, " sainteté à vous, cultivateurs, qui êtes les maîtres de la corde dans l'Occident ! "

C. Ce dieu grand est remorqué par les dieux infernaux, qui (le) font circuler dans le lieu mystérieux. " Remorquez pour moi, infernaux ! Rendez moi hommage, vous qui êtes

dans les enfers ! Force à vos cordes, avec lesquelles vous me remorquez ! Fermeté à vos bras, vitesse à vos jambes, protection à vos âmes, acclamation à vos cœurs ! Ouvrez le bon chemin vers les cavernes des choses mystérieuses ! "

Ceux qui sont dans ce tableau, porteurs de ce serpent, tirent et (le) font apparaître devant Ra et devant eux, pour qu'il (Ra) se place dans (la porte) Neb-t-Hau. Ce serpent s'élève vers elle, sans la dépasser. Ra leur dit, " Tirez Nenut'i ! Ne lui laissez pas d'issue, afin que je m'élève au-dessus de vous ! Enveloppement à vos bras, destruction à ce que vous gardez, vous qui gardez ce que deviennent mes formes, vous qui emmaillottez ce que deviennent mes splendeurs ! " Leur nourriture est d'entendre la parole de ce dieu ; c'est une oblation, pour eux, d'entendre la parole de Ra dans l'enfer.

Ceux qui ont dit la vérité sur la terre, et ont magnifié les formes de Dieu. Ra leur dit, " Acclamation à vos âmes, souffles à vos narines, et végétaux pour vous, de votre campagne d'Aru ! Vous, vous êtes d'entre les Justes. Vos demeures sont, pour vous, à l'angle où l'on examine ceux qui sont dans la flamme, en lui." Leurs aliments sont (faits) de pain, et leurs breuvages de la liqueur T'eser ; leur rafraîchissement est de l'eau. Il y a des oblations à terre, pour eux, comme Bienheureux, selon ce qui leur appartient.

Ra dit à ce dieu, " que le grand qui est sur son angle appelle les âmes des Justes, et les fasse se placer dans leurs demeures, auprès de l'angle, ceux qui sont avec moi-même ! "

D. Horus dit aux troupeaux de Ra, qui sont dans l'enfer de l'Egypte et du Désert, " Protection à vous, troupeaux de Ra nés du grand qui est dans le ciel, souffles à vos narines, renversement à vos cercueils ! Vous, vous avez été pleurés par mon œil, en vos personnes d'Hommes supérieurs. Vous, je vous ai créés en vos personnes d'Amu : Sekhet les a créés, et c'est elle qui défend leurs âmes. Vous, j'ai répandu ma semence [1] pour vous, et je me suis soulagé par une multitude sortie de moi en vos personnes de Nègres : Horus les a créés, et c'est lui qui défend leurs âmes. (Vous), j'ai cherché

[1] Le mot propre est *manus'uprare.*

mon œil, et je vous ai créés en vos personnes de Tamehu: Sekhet les a créés, et c'est elle qui défend leurs âmes."

Ceux qui installent l'emblème de la durée, font lever les jours des âmes qui sont dans l'Occident, et désignent pour le lieu de la destruction. Ra leur dit, "Etant les dieux, habitants de l'enfer, qui portez la (corde-) Equité pour traîner l'emblème de la durée, tirez la (corde-) Equité, traînez l'emblème de la durée, par elle, des âmes qui sont dans l'Occident, et designez pour le lieu de la destruction! qu'ils ne voient pas la retraite mystérieuse!" Ce sont les divins magistrats qui détruisent les ennemis. Leurs aliments sont faits de parole véridique. Il y a une oblation pour eux, à terre, (faite) de parole véridique, auprès d'eux.

Ceux qui ordonnent la destruction et son enregistrement pour la durée des âmes dans l'Occident, "Que vos destructions soient pour les ennemis, et vos enregistrements pour le lieu de la destruction! Je suis venu, (moi) le grand, Horus, pour examiner mon corps, et pour lancer des fléaux contre mes ennemis." Leurs aliments sont (faits) de pain, leur breuvage de liqueur T'eser, leur rafraîchissement est de l'eau.

COMMENTARY ON THE DELUGE TABLET.

By H. F. Talbot, F.R.S., &c.

Read 4th May, 1875.

In the last part of our Transactions Mr. G. Smith has published the cuneiform text of the Deluge Tablet, which has been long looked for with great interest, together with an excellent translation. But some parts of the tablet are so broken and defaced as to leave considerable uncertainty as to the meaning of the narrative. In the following pages I have endeavoured to remove some of these difficulties. I should not perhaps have attempted it so soon but as I have no doubt that our French and German friends will very soon publish commentaries upon it, my remarks, if deferred, would probably be more or less anticipated and rendered useless.

The account of the Deluge in Genesis appears to me to offer some remarkable points of agreement, which have not yet been pointed out, with the Chaldean tablet as I interpret it.

Genesis viii, 20. *And Noah builded an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings upon the altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet savour.*

Now since we know from chapter vii, 2, that Noah had taken "of every *clean* beast *by sevens*, and of fowls of the air also *by sevens*," it seems not improbable that when he made this great burnt offering, to return thanks for his unparalleled deliverance, he took of "the clean beasts and birds" *by sevens* for his sacrifice. If I am right in this, there is here a great agreement with the Chaldean tablet, which says that Xisuthrus built an altar on the very summit of the mountain and sacrificed thereon victims *by seven at a time* [seven and seven].

Then Genesis says "he offered them as *burnt offerings* upon the altar." So the tablet, "Beneath them I placed sweet cane, cedar wood, and spikenard."

Genesis: *And the Lord smelled a sweet savour.*

The Chaldean tablet: "The gods smelled the smell of it. The gods smelled the good smell of it. The gods in swarms assembled over the sacrifice."

Here the gods are imagined as floating in the air over the altar.

Moreover, the Chaldean account agrees with Genesis vi, 16 and viii, 6, in describing the Ark as furnished with a door, and only one window.

Column I.

Lines 1-7 form a kind of introduction to the story.

1-4. Izdubar said to Xisuthrus, I am troubled concerning this matter. Why is it that thou makest to me no answer?

5. Determine thy heart to make a clear narrative

6. why thou didst emigrate to this foreign land

7. and didst found this city: and livest now in the company of the gods?

The last three lines stand thus in Roman characters: the portion within brackets being restored.

5. *gummur ka libbi ana epis tuquntu* .
determine thou thy heart to make a clear narrative,

6. [*ki ta*]*nada atta eli tsiri-ka*
how thou didst emigrate unto thy foreign land

7. ..... *ki tazbat-ma, as pukhri*
[and this] city thou didst found, and in the company

ili balada tasum
of the gods thy life thou hast placed.

Remarks.—*Gummur* (from the Heb. גמיר terminare, perficere, absolvere, &c. *Ex. gr.* on one of the tablets a king rewards and promotes his officer because his heart is perfect (*libbu-su gummur*) in the king's service.

Tuquntu. The Heb. verb תקן means to arrange or set in order a book, or statement of any kind, *ex. gr.* a book of proverbs (Eccles. xii, 9). I have here rendered it 'a clear narrative.'

Tanada: from the well-known Heb. root נוד migrare: emigrare.

Tsiri: forest, desert, open field. Also foreign country. A very common word, but usually written by the symbol as in Col. 2, 29 of this tablet.

Tazbat. We frequently find *Azbat* "I founded," *ex. gr. Alani suatun ana issuti azbat*, those (ruined) cities I founded anew. Hence *zibit* the foundation of a city or state, *ex. gr.* "the remote days of the *foundation* of Assyria" (G. Smith, Transactions, Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. 3, p. 378).

Tasum. Heb. שום ponere.

The name Xisuthrus has been discovered by Mr. Smith to be latent in the Assyrian name Khasis-adra. This seems a very probable conjecture. I would suggest that Khasis-adra means "the Sage," being composed of *Khasis* 'intelligence' and *adra* 'great.' The word *khasis* occurs frequently.

In lines 8-10 Xisuthrus replies to Izdubar, "Be it revealed to thee the concealed story, the secret of the gods."

Nitsirti, here translated 'concealed,' is from Heb. אצר to lock up. Treasures are generally locked up, hence *nitsirti ekali-su* 'the treasures of his palace' a very frequent phrase. So in Hebrew 'treasure' is אוצר from אצר to lock up.

In this tablet Xisuthrus has usually the epithet *ruki* 'the remote,' because he dwelt in such a remote country. It does not imply that he was remote from the person who was speaking to him, for in Col. iv, 39 it is said '*his wife* then spoke to Xisuthrus the remote.' *Ruku* is a standing or constant epithet, as Homer calls Achilles ποδας ωκυς even when he is sitting still.

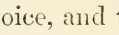
Commencement of the story. What caused the building of the Ark? Why were the gods angry? Who gave the warning?

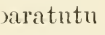
At this important point the tablet is greatly injured. One-half of each line is broken off. Only by help of

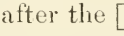
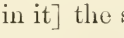
conjectures can a tolerable sense be obtained. I place in brackets the words I have restored.

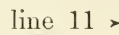
Col. I. 11. The city Surippak, the city which thou knowest, stands on the seacoast.

12. That city was grown old, and the gods who dwelt in it [were neglected]
13. The service of the great gods [was disused]
14. The god Anu [grew angry]
15. The god Bel [grew angry]
16. The god Ninip [grew angry]
17. But Hea lord of Hades
18. repeated to me their words [in a dream]
19. I heard his voice, and thus he spake [to me]
20. Surippakite son of Ubaratutu
21. Build a ship after the [fashion that I will tell thee]
22. [to preserve in it] the seed of life.

Remarks.—In line 11  *tidu-su* thou knowest it. *Idu* he knows: from ידע to know.

Saknu 'is situated.' שכן to place. *Tamti*  on the seacoast.

In line 13  'their service.' 18. *amat-sun usanná*, their words he repeated, *anaki* (to me) *as sunatima* (in a dream). The last word is restored from comparison with Col. iv, 22 where this dream of Xisuthrus  *Sunata* is mentioned. Moreover Berosus says that the god Cronos appeared to Xisuthrus *in a vision* and warned him that a flood was coming by which mankind would be destroyed. He therefore commanded him to build a ship (see Mr. G. Smith in the Transactions, vol. 2, p. 227).

Line 19. *Tunamtu-ssu* his voice?  *nam* is used for *nabu* 'to speak' (see Smith's phonetic values, No. 56).

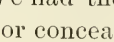
After this broken part the tablet becomes much clearer and Mr. Smith's translation seems very good. Xisuthrus builds the ship as he had been commanded.

I, 41. Here is rendered *grain;* but may it not be *money?*

42. I would read *kilat.* *Ardat* (a female servant) is frequently rendered *Kil.*

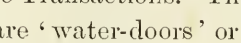
44. *inazzaru* from אצר *atzer* to shut up: passive *natzer* to be shut up: *inazzaru bab-ka* they shall be shut up, within thy door. We had the verbal form *natzer* in Col. 1, l. 9 (*nitsirti* shut up, or concealed)

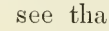
Column II.

The building of the ship is continued. In line 8 its *port-holes* are mentioned. I have shown  to be 'doors' in vol. 3, p. 515 of the Transactions. Therefore with (water) added they are 'water-doors' or 'port-holes.'

II, 10. *Attabak* from בוק evacuavit.

II, 11. Here we see that the ark of Xisuthrus was daubed with pitch both *outside* and *inside.* This agrees fully with the account in Genesis vi, 14 where a command is given to Noah, "Thou shalt pitch it *within* and *without* with pitch."

When the ship was nearly completed, Xisuthrus made great sacrifices to the gods to obtain a prosperous voyage. But this part of the tablet is difficult. I think (*kisallu*, see Mr. Smith's phonetic values No. 104) means an Altar, for it often has that meaning clearly. For instance, the following passage leaves no doubt, see 2 R 58, 31  The Altars with libations they sprinkle. *Nadaluni* is Chald. נזל *nazal.* Syr. נצל fluxit: super fudit.

I do not think that *bissatu* in line 20 has the same meaning as . Mr. Smith says that the unusual character is a variant of . Perhaps so; but I also think that this character is the same as the old symbol for 'stone' which is found in the Michaux inscription 1 R 70, 22. I therefore render  'a stone altar.' I suppose this altar was on the shore, near to the ship; it could not well have been on board the ship, which would probably have been set on fire by it.

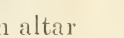
The passage about *altars* and *sacrifices* may perhaps be explained thus:

Col. II, 12. *zabi* *nash* *zuzzul*
Three stone-cutters carrying pickaxes (?)

sha *izabbilu* *kisallu*
for to build up an altar

II. 13. *itzub* *sa* *ikulu*
erected the stone altar on which to burn

niqqu
the sacrifices.

14.  *upazziru* *malakhi*
two stone-altars they added for the boatmen.

Zabi in l. 12 (and probably in many other places) seems to mean 'young men'; Arab *sabi* (Schindler has צבי 'juvenes.' See more on this word in my note to V. 25). And with (stone) added, it will mean 'stonemasons.' I observe that there were three of them and three altars, therefore each made one altar.

Izabbilu, in same line. We find the verb *subul* 'to build' in Smith's Assurbanipal p. 227 and elsewhere.

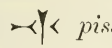
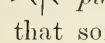
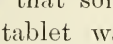
Itzub in l. 13, erected or set up, from יצב to erect.

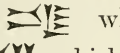
Ikulu 'to burn'; future used as infinitive: from קלה to burn (occurs frequently).

Upazziru 'they added.' I give this on the authority of Buxtorf, who says, p. 1785 that פצר means 'to add to' or 'multiply.'

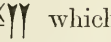
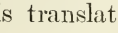
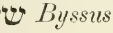
The tablet then goes on to describe the sacrifices of oxen, &c., which were offered on these altars every day. Wine was poured on them "as freely as the waters of a river."

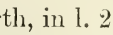
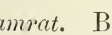
Line 20, which concludes the account of the sacrifices, is remarkable. The first half of it is broken off, but the end remains, thus: *bissati qati addi*, which I think means "I placed white linen (or *byssus*) on my hands." Because we know (Ezek. xliv, 15) that when a Priest offered a victim to the Lord on the altar he always wore linen. Any other dress was rigorously forbidden. Now, that *bissati* means

white linen or byssus I think I have clearly shown in the last volume of the Transactions, p. 499. But I may briefly explain it here. The original text of this line 20 has  *pissati*, which word being in the genitive case shows that some other substantive had preceded it when the tablet was entire. The nominative is *pissatu*  which is explained in 2 R 25, 28 by  which I have shown to mean 'white linen.' Indeed, it is translated (see p. 499) by *Sis*, which is the Heb. שש *Byssus*.

At length, in l. 21 we find that the ship was completed  *gamrat*. But before loading it, they measured its shape and dimensions. At least so I understand lines 23 and 24. *Elis u siplis* 'up and down.' *Sinipat-zu* 'its circuit,' from Heb. צנף *zinip* 'circuit.' For I do not think that *sinipat* can mean *two-thirds*, in this passage.

Then comes a long narration very well translated by Mr. Smith, relating how Xisuthrus entered into the ark with all his goods, his family, and all creatures of the earth of every kind.

The predicted time had now arrived. A voice was heard in the night time crying aloud, "The great Flood is coming. Enter into thy ship and shut thy door." In line 31 I render *kukru* 'a voice' or 'cry,' from קרא clamavit. In the same line I have to propose an important correction as likewise in line 34.  has been twice written instead of  *gab*. The word is *shagabta*  'heavy rain,' *Usaznannu* I will cause it to rain, *shagabta kibati*, a heavy down-pour.

There are many other examples of this word, *ex. gr.* 1 R. 43, 43. "In the month of December a great storm arose, and  *shagabtu* (a deluge of rain) *la ziztu* (irresistible, from *ziz* to withstand), *illik* (came). *Shalgu* (the snow), &c., &c. Another account of the same event is found in 1 R 40, 75. "In the month of December a great storm arose, and *shagabtu* (a deluge of rain) *mattu* (very great: same as *mahidu*) *usaznin* poured down.  (rains upon rains) *u shalgu* (and snow) &c., &c. Observe that the verb *usaznin* (it rained) is

the same as on the Deluge Tablet *usaznannu* (future, I will cause it to rain). This completes the proof. In the second passage which I have adduced the word *shagabtu* is misprinted just as it is on the Deluge Tablet. Hence I presume there can be no doubt as to the propriety of this correction.

Shagabtu is related to the Heb. שכבת a pouring forth of water. There is a remarkable passage in Job xxxviii, 37, which according to some means "Who can cause the swelling clouds of Heaven to pour down their rain when the earth is all hard and dried up?"

"The swelling clouds of heaven." Vulg. *utres cæli* גבלי שמים. Gesenius says, "This is a very common metaphor in Arabic."

מי ישכיב quis effundet? Schindler: who explains it thus: Quis efficiet ut nubes cœli demittant pluviam? I think then that we may render *shagab* or שכב 'to rain heavily.'

Enter into thy ship, and shut thy door.

II, 32. *Pikhi* (*bab-ka*), close thy door! line 37 *aptikhi* I closed it. This verb occurs in the legend of the first Sargina (Transactions, vol. 1, p. 275) *bab-ya ipkhi*, she closed my door .

The next line 33 says "the Flood happened as predicted" *ikrida* 'it happened,' from קרה to happen.

II, 40. *Ragmu seri*, the pelting of a storm, from רגם lapidare: obruere. *Seru* is the Heb. סער procella: turbo.

II, 42. (Jupiter Tonans) the god of the sky *in libbi-su*, in his *rage* (a very frequent meaning of *lib*) *irtamma-mma*, thundered loudly, from רעם to thunder.

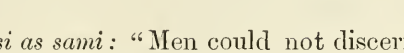
II, 46. Ninip *mikhri usardi*, hurled down thunderbolts.

II, 49. *Sumurrat-zu*, his terrors, from סמר to terrify (horruit, Buxt.).

Column III.

The storm increased. Line 4 says "Brother saw not his brother." This is a Hebrew idiom meaning "One person could not see another." No relationship is implied in the

phrase, *ex. gr.* 'said one man to another' איש אל אחיו (alter alteri).

Ul utaddā nisi as sami: "Men could not discern the sky." This verb is used of viewing the sky in 4 R 15, 8. I will give the passage  *as kakkab samami val utaddu*, they do not regard (or know) the stars of heaven. *Utaddu* is a T conjugation of ידע to know, as appears from its being occasionally translated by the Accadian verb *Zu* 'to know.'

III, 6. The gods sought refuge, *ittikhzu*, the verb is חסה 'to seek refuge.'

Lines 5, 6 seem very well translated: "The gods feared the tempest and sought refuge. They ascended to the heaven of Anu." But for line 7 I would propose a different translation.

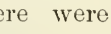
7. *Ili kima 'kalbi kunnunu: as kamati rabitzu*, "the gods crouched down like dogs: they hid themselves in the standing corn." For, there were harvests in heaven, according to their mythology.

Kunnunu 'they crouched down,' from the Heb. כנען *Kanan* humble, lowly, depressed: which is from verb כנע to stoop down, to humble oneself (submisit se, *Gesen*).

Kamat, standing corn, is the Chaldee word קמיא 'Seges': see Schindler, p. 1601.

Rabitzu is the Heb. verb רבץ recumbere: also, 'recubare fecit gregem.' Substantive רבץ is 'a place where flocks and herds *lie down*.' Many examples of this word occur on the tablets.

III, 18. *Katma sapta-sun*, 'they closed their lips' (spoke not: their lips were sealed) from חתם to shut, or seal.

III, 21. Read  *shagabta suhu*, that deluge of rain, see note on Col. II, 31.

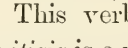
III, 22. *kima haialti.* Mr. Smith has 'earthquake'; perhaps from חול a trembling.

III, 24. *sakin qulu*, 'making a tossing' (Smith). Perhaps from קל. Gesenius explains קלקל 'motitavit.'

III, 26. *usallu*, 'they floated' (Smith). Doubtless from Heb. סלל sustulit: elevavit.

III, 27. I opened the window and the light *fell* on my face: *imtakut.*

III, 31. The land appeared high and mountainous, for it rose 12 degrees above the horizon. This curious passage seems to show that the Chaldeans used instruments for measuring or surveying: astrolabes perhaps. And since 12 degrees is a very reasonable and probable elevation for a mountainous coast, seen not far off, it is likely that they divided the circle into 360 degrees, as we do.

III, 32. On the coast of Nizir the ship struck, or stood fast  . This verb may be *itibat* (Arab. תבת 'stetit firmus'): but *itiziz* is a possible reading.

III, 33. *val iddin*, gave not (allowed not) the ship to pass over it.

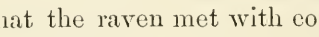
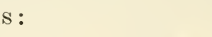
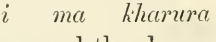
The lines III, 43 and 44, I understand differently. I do not think that the raven met with corpses. I would translate the passage thus:

43. *illik aribi ma kharura sa mi imur*

went the raven and the dryness of the waters it saw, *i.e.*, it saw that the waters were now quite dried up.

44. *ikkal isakkhi itarri ul issikhra.*

it did eat, it did drink, it remained, and did not return.

 *kharura* 'the dryness' from Heb. חרר siccitas (Buxt.). I think there can be no doubt of this word if we refer back to line 23 of this column, *aabba uskharir* 'the sea became dry'  the chief difference is that in one passage we have  'the waters' and in the other passage *aabba* 'the sea.'

III, 26. *Isakkhi* 'it did drink.' Heb. השקה to drink.

Itarri 'it remained.' Heb. יתר to remain: נותר 'the remainder.'

III, 46. *Surginu*, an Altar. The discovery of this word by Mr. Smith is most valuable, and I think it a great addition to our knowledge. The Hebrew שלחן 'an altar' by the permutation of the cognate letters L and R has become שרחן in Assyrian. Few words are more curious than שלחן.

it originally meant 'a table,' from the root שלח 'to spread' (compare the Homeric *ταννειν τραπεζαν*). But most frequently a dinner table. 2 Sam. ix, 11, 'he shall eat at my table.' 1 Kings xviii, 19, 'the prophets which eat at Jezebel's table.' Thence it came to mean food: cibus: convivium. Psalm lxxviii, 19, 'Can God furnish a *table* in the wilderness?' And thence by a natural transition שלחן came to mean a table spread *for the gods*, that is, "an Altar." Isaiah lxv, 11, "Ye forsake the Lord, and prepare a *table* for your idol Gad, and a drink offering for Minni." And thence again by a natural, but still a very important change שלחן יהוה came to signify 'the table of the Lord,' meaning 'his altar' מזבח. For, the prophet Malachi ch. i, lines 7 and 12 uses these terms indifferently. 1 Corinthians x, 21 is an important text, contrasting the Table of the Lord with the table of the heathen gods. We read in Ezekiel xli, 22 and xliv, 16 that when the priests offered a victim to the Lord (at the Lord's table or altar) they were commanded to wear linen garments only.

III, 46. *Askun surqinu as eli ziggurrat sadi*
I made an altar upon the peak of the mountain

47. *Sibitti u sibitti duk adagur*
seven by seven the victims I slew

uktin
and I laid them down.

48. *in sipli-sun itabak kan*
beneath them I poured forth sweet cane

erinu u simbur.
cedar wood and spikenard.

49. *Ili izinu iri-sa: ili*
the gods smelled the smell of it: the gods

izinu iri-sa dabu.
smelled the sweet smell of it.

50.	*Ili*	*kima*	*zumbi*	*elin*	*niqi*
	the gods	like	flies	over	the sacrifices
	iptakhru.				
	assembled.				

The word [cuneiform] sometimes means *karpat* a flaggon: but in line 47 it has its usual value namely *duk* 'a victim'; from the verb *duk* 'to slay' either a man or an animal. It is a very common verb. See Norris's dicty. p. 218 [cuneiform] or [cuneiform] *aduk* 'I slew.' In Syll. 339 [cuneiform] *daku* is explained [cuneiform] which means 'a victim.'

ibid. *Adagur* 'I stabbed.' From Heb. דקר transfixit.

ibid. *Uktin* is the *T* conjugation of *Ukin* I placed.

III, 48. *Itabak* I poured forth (or placed abundantly) from בוק.

ibid. *Kan*, sweet cane, the Calamus aromaticus; mentioned in Solomon's song, see Furst lex. p. 1244.

ibid. Cedar wood gives out when burning a very sweet smell.

ibid. *Simbur* is Spikenard: Spanish *azumbar* which is derived from the Arabic *sunbal* 'spica odorata' vel 'spica nardi.' The root of these words is the Heb. שבל spica. Schindler says that the spikenard is sometimes called *sunbal Hindi* or spica Indica. The *Nardus* is a very celebrated Indian aromatic. Galen calls it *ναρδο-σταχυς*, the *σταχυς* being *spica*.

III, 49. *izinu* they smelled. Chald. *zin* צחן 'a strong smell' (Schindler p. 1543).

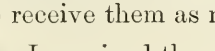
ibid. *iri:* probably Heb. ריח 'odour,' or הריח 'to be sweet scented.'

III, 50. *Zumbi* 'flies.' A variant of *zubbi* or *zebubi*. Heb. זבוב musca.

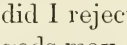
This is followed by several difficult lines, saying that the god Bel was formerly a welcome guest at the table, or altar, of Xisuthrus, but shall be so no more, since in his rage he brought this deluge upon the earth. I think we may translate thus:—

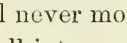
III, 51. Of old, whenever this deity came
52. to celebrate the great festivals of heaven with his companions,
53. those gods I never rejected from my side at my table of alabaster [or lapis lazuli] (*i.e.* I never refused to receive them as my guests).

IV, 1. In those days I received them kindly. Never at any time did I reject them.
2. The (other) gods may still come to my table.
3. But Bel shall never more come to my table,
4. because he fell into a rage, and made a deluge.

I would read in l. 52  *Issinnti* 'festivals.' I have explained this word in my Glossary No. 153.

ibid. ibusu, he had made, *i.e.* had been accustomed to make, those feasts.

ibid. ki zukhi-su, 'with his invited companions'—*Zukhi*  'invited' or 'assembled,' from זעק accersivit: congregavit se. (*Gesenius*).

III, 53. *Lû*  frequently means 'a table' (Glossary No. 389), and may therefore be an equivalent of *surkina* in IV, 2. It is the Heb. לוח tabula.

ibid. Kisadi 'the side,' is a frequent word.

ibid. amsi 'I rejected': from the verb מאס sprevit: respuit: aversatus est. This verb is specially used of rejecting or despising *the gods*. *Tarqu danan Assur imsi*: Tirhaka despised the power of Assur. And Gesenius says of the verb מאס dicitur de hominibus *Deum* respuentibus.

IV, 1. *akhzuza-mma* is a doubtful word. Perhaps the root is חסיד benignus fuit.

IV, 4. *La imtalku* 'he fell into a rage.' The tablets frequently use the verb *malik* to be wise or reasonable (Heb. מלך consilium) whence in the T conjugation *amtallik* (I was wise) and the verb of opposite signification *la malik* 'to fall into a rage,' whence *la imtallik* 'he was enraged.'

Column IV.

At line 6 the story goes back a little to explain one cause of this wrath of Bel. It was because some one had betrayed the secret to mortals that the gods were going to cause a deluge, and had therefore advised them to build an ark of safety.

IV, 6. At a former time Bel in his course
7. saw the ship; and Bel went full of anger and said to the spirits
8. Let not any one come out alive! let not a man be saved from the deep!

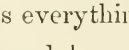
(This provoked an expostulation on the part of Ninip, who was a god of milder character).

IV, 9. Ninip opened his mouth, and said to the warrior Bel
10. Who, except Hea, can have built this ship? For Hea knows everything.

This passage is interesting. Hea was the god to whom all clever contrivances were attributed, and an almost universal knowledge. Lines 10, 11 are—

10. *Mannu-mma sa la Hea abatu ibannu*
Who then, if not Hea, the ship built?
11. *u Hea idi-ma kalami.*
for Hea knows everything.

The important word here is *Abatu* 'a ship' of which I have once before pointed out an example (Glossary No. 397).

It occurs in the annals of Assurbanipal page 192 of Mr. Smith's edition, in the description of a storm at sea which assailed the ship of Tammaritu king of Elam. I gave the following version in my glossary: "The ship of Tammaritu was caught by a terrible tempest. The steersman of the ship leaped from the ship upon the sand. Tammaritu following him was thrown upon the dangerous rocky ground and very much injured." In this passage we find *Sikudi abati*, the steersman of the ship,  *abati* being the

genitive case of *abatu* 'a ship' which is found on the deluge tablet. Now this is a most interesting word because it occurs once, and once only, in the Old Testament, being in all probability the אבה of Job ix. 26, where the commentators disagree exceedingly as to its meaning (except that it is a *ship* of some kind), it is therefore very satisfactory to find it in Assyrian.

ibid. *idi* 'he knows,' from ידע to know.

(Hea then speaks for himself and expostulates thus with Bel.)

IV, 13. Art thou a just prince of the gods,
14. *ki ki la tamtalik, abuba taskun*
who when thou wast enraged a great storm did'st make.

La tamtalik "thou did'st fall into a rage." See my remarks on the verb *la malik* 'to rage' at line IV, 14. The second person is *tamtalik*, the third person *imtalik*.

IV, 15. The sinner may (justly) die for his sins; the criminal may (justly) die for his crime,

IV, 16. But a just prince will never cut off the pure.

 'the pure,' from Heb. עשת *purus* (see Schindler p. 1407). This word occurs again in Col. V, 39 *isuda* 'he is purified,' and V, 44 *tassuda* 'thou art purified.'

IV, 17 to 20. Hea now says that a deluge was unnecessary. Bel might have sent lions and leopards; famine and pestilence: which would have sufficiently reduced the numbers of mankind.

Hea then goes on to say:

IV, 21. It was not I who revealed the secret of the gods.
22. They sent a dream to Xisuthrus and he thus heard the secret of the gods.

Bel appears to have been satisfied by this discourse of Hea, and his wrath was appeased (or his judgment returned to him, *milik su milku:* the reverse of his former state of rage, *la malik*).

IV, 23. When his mind grew calm, Bel went up into the ship,.

24. he took my hand and raised me up,

25. and brought my wife to my side.

Immediately after this, Xisuthrus and his people were transported to a happy region "at the mouth of the rivers" perhaps on the shores of the Persian Gulf, for we see by the sequel that their dwelling was accessible to ships.

Xisuthrus has now answered the question put to him, by what means he had been so much exalted as to dwell henceforth in the company of the gods? And he now turns to Izdubar and thus addresses him:

IV, 31. And lo! again, some one of the gods has brought thee hither also!

32. The health which thou soughtest, thou hast now attained to it:

33. Thy disease has been made quite well in six days and seven nights.

The original is:

31. *Eninna-ma* *ana kása* *mannu* *ili*
lo! again thee some one of the gods
upakharâ-kku-ma.
has brought thee also!

NOTE.—*Upakhara* 'has brought': from *pakhar* to assemble or bring together; a very common verb. *Ku* 'thee' (= *ka*) the *K* being doubled because *ka* is an enclitic pronoun casting back the accent.

IV, 32. *Balada* *sa* *tubahu,*
the health which thou soughtest,
tuttá atta
thou art come to it.

Tuttá from Ch. and Syr. אתא venit, advenit, pervenit.

33. *Ganai* *tatbi* 𒌋𒌋𒌋 *urra*
Of thy disease thou hast been cured in six days
u 𒌋𒌋𒌋 *musati*
and seven nights.

Gana 'a foul disease.' Syr. גנאי turpitudo, see Schindler p. 330. Buxtorf p. 454, also גנות *ganut*, from *gan* 'turpis.'

Tatbi 'thou hast been cured': 'hast been made quite well': from Heb. יטב 'to be well': from root טב bonus: benè.

Six days and seven nights. This agrees with Col. V, 1 which says that Izdubar was quite well *at daybreak on the seventh day.*

THE STORY OF IZDUBAR; HIS ILLNESS AND HIS CURE.

The story now goes back a good deal, in order to relate how the cure of Izdubar took place. This mode of narration is very unskilful, but perhaps the scribe could not help it: for if the account had been introduced earlier, it would have interrupted the story of the deluge.

IV, 34. *Kima asbu-ma as birit burdisu*
35. *Mistu kima im-bari inappus eli-su.*
"As he was sitting one day in the interior of his garden,
"An effluvium like a gust blew over him."

IV, 36. Xisuthrus said to his wife:
37. *Amri idlu sa irisu balathu,*
"I see a Chieftain whose health is bad!"
38. "For, an effluvium like a gust blows over him!"
39. Then his wife replied to Xisuthrus
40. *Lubus-su, likkabdá nisu*
Give him a dress of honour, and reverence him
41. And then, by the road that he came let him return in peace!
42. Open the great gate, and let him return to his country!
43. Xisuthrus replied to his wife:
44. *raggat amiluttu iraggik-ki*
The malady of the man might make thee ill also.

ibid. Buridisu or *Puridisu* 'his garden.' I consider this word to be the Heb. פרדס *Paradis* 'a garden,' which is found in Greek as *Παραδεισος*.

Mistu 𒈨𒋢 Effluvium. From the verb מסס contabuit, diffluxit. In Isaiah x, 18 Gesenius explains it "de ægroto contabescente." The verb מאס is nearly related, and has the same meaning. Job, who suffered from a similar kind of leprosy, says (vii, 5) "My skin, (רגע) is crusted, and (ימאס) sanie diffluit (*Gesen.*).

Inappus 'blows,' from נפש spiravit.

Line 37. *Amri,* I behold: from the Assyrian verb *mar* 'to see.'

Idlu 'a chief': or 'man of distinction,' occurs frequently.

Balathu 'health.' *Iri* 'it is bad,' from רע malus.

Sha iri-su balathu, literally: 'who, his health to him is bad.'

IV, 40. *Lubus-su* .לבש is 'a dress': but especially a dress which is splendid (*Gesen.*).

Likkabdá is the same as *likkabad* 'let him be honoured, from כבד honoravit. Similarly *izzabtá* = *izzabat,* and many other examples might be given.

IV, 44. *Raggat* 'the disease': from רגע. See the passage just now quoted from Job vii, 5.

Iraggi-kki 'will infect thee.' Same verb. *Ki* is the feminine pronoun 'thee.' Being an enclitic without accent, the accent falls on the end of the preceding word, and thus doubles the letter K. So *panú-ssun* 'to them,' and very many other examples.

IV, 45.	*Gana*	*epi*	*kurummati-su,*
	guard against	the infection	of his leprosy:

sitakkan	*in risi-su*
he has an ulcer	upon his head.

NOTES.—*Gana,* guard against! from Heb. גנן *ganan* (fut. יגן *igan*) to guard or protect. כנן *kanan* has nearly the same meaning *ex.gr.* כנה *kana* protect! Psalm lxxx, 16. The same in Arabic, *kan* (*Gesen.*)

Epi the *giving* or *communicating* (the disease). We have here I think an example of the verb יהב 'to give,' which is so important in Chaldee and Syriac.

Kurummat: a kind of leprosy or skin disease from the Syriac קרמ the skin: or a skin-like incrustation. Castelli gives קרמא (1) incrustatio (2) tegumentum.

Sitakkan 'ulceratus est': from *Sikkan* or *Zikan* 'ulcus,' see the clear example in IV, 50 *ipti zikani-su* he opened the ulcer. It is the Heb. שחן of the same meaning. Line 47 reads *istakkan*, which is better than *sitakkan*.

IV, 47 is a line of similar meaning to IV, 45, and therefore superfluous.

It appears that there were two editions of the deluge tablet, varying a little in diction, and the scribe has here, by some oversight, introduced both readings. IV, 47 reads *Si ipi kurummati-su, istakkan in risi-su* which differs from the former, by using the verb *Si* instead of *gana* 'guard against.' This verb *Si* appears to be the Heb. שוה timuit (see Gesenius).

The Seven Days' Cure of Izdubar's Illness.

IV, 48. Every day [Xisuthrus] ascended to the deck of the ship.

49. *Istat* *samunat* *kurummat-zu*
the first day [he brought] ointment for his leprosy

50. *Sanatu mussukat:* *salsatu*
The second day [he brought] musk: the third day [he

radbat: *ribatu* *ipti* *zikani-ssu*
brought] . . . . . the fourth day he opened his ulcer

51. *Khamsatu* *siba* *ittadi:*
the fifth day ointment he spread on it:

sissatu *basmat:*
the sixth day [he brought] balsam:

V, 1. *Sibutu* *in pit-imma* *ilbus-su-ma*
On the seventh day at daybreak he gave him a dress of honour

ikkabdā nisu.
and exalted the man.

Observations.—The text of l. 49 has 𒁹 𒌋𒌋 𒌋 *sabunat.* If this is correct, I cannot explain it: but I suspect that we should read 𒌋𒌋 instead of 𒌋𒌋, which gives *samunat* 'ointment' Heb. שמן unguentum. Compare VI, 23 *samnut* 'ointment'

Musk has the same name in Arabic.

Zikan, an ulcer, is the Heb. שחן ulcus: inflammatio.

Siba 'ointment' in l. 51 is from the Chald. שפ *unxit.*

Basmat is the Heb. בשמ balsamum.

In pittimma, at daybreak. *Piti*, the opening; *imma*, of the day. *Immu* (Heb. יומ) 'the day' is not a frequent word, but I have given examples in my Glossary No. 66. *Immu u musa* 'day and night' occurs in Opp. Khors. l. 190, written .

Izdubar Prepares to Depart.

V, 2. Izdubar said to Xisuthrus

3. *Anni* *mis-mistu* *irkhū* *eli-ya:*
That leprosy has been softened upon me

4. *Khandis* *tallatt-annima*
with sweet ointments thou didst bandage me

taddini *atta!*
and didst anoint me thou!

Notes.—*Irkhu* has been softened: from הרך 'to soften' (from Heb. רך mollis). The leprosy or incrustation of the skin (*kurummat*) had been *softened* by these dressings, and was now apparently ready to fall off and leave the skin clean and healthy.

Mis-mistu 'leprosy': from the root מסס or מאס which denotes this disease in Job vii, 5.

Khandis, adv., 'with sweet ointments or unguents.' From the Heb. verb חנט 'condivit aromatibus,' and subst. 'conditura: balsamum' Schindler p. 612. In Chald. and Syr. 'unguentum.'

Tallata 'thou didst bandage,' *annima* 'me.' From לוט 'a bandage.' Gesenius has obvolvere, obvelatio, velamen.

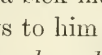
Taddini 'thou didst anoint me.' For we had in IV, 51 *siba ittadi*, 'he spread the ointment' on the diseased part: which shows that the verb *addi*, which is Heb. ידה jecit, was used also as a medical term.

V, 5. Xisuthrus said to Izdubar.

6. (. . . . . .) *muna kurummati-ka*
[this was] the remedy of thy leprosy.

7. (. . . . . .) *lu-edakka kasa*
[in this way] I cleansed thee.

I have restored the beginning of lines 6 and 7 as I think must have been.

Muna or *mina* 'a remedy' is a word which occurs frequently on the tablets. It is written in two ways  and . Example, 4 R 7, 29 where Marduk wishes to cure a sick man, but knows not how to do it. His father Hea says to him: *Mina la tidi*, knowest thou not the remedy? *Mina lu-raddi-ka*, I will tell thee? the remedy. *Sha anaku idu*, *atta tidi*, whatever I know, thou shalt also know.

Edakka I cleansed, or purified. Chald. דכא is same as Heb. זכה purum fecit.

Having said, '*In this way I cleansed thee*,' Xisuthrus then recapitulates the seven days' cure in the same words as before. The next few lines are too much broken to translate. Xisuthrus speaks to Urhamsi the boatman (*malakhi*, Heb. מלח a sailor), but the lines are injured till we get to line 21.

V, 21. *Nis sha tallaka pana-ssu*
the man whom thou wentest before him (*i.e.*, whom thou didst conduct; or bring hither in thy ship) *iktazu malú pagar-su* (disease had hardened his body).

V, 22. *Masku uktattu: udumuk seri-su*
his skin was broken: was lifeless his flesh.

Iktazu from קשה durus fuit: rigidus vel asper fuit. This 'hardness' agrees well with the previous term *kurumma* Syriac *kurma*, incrustatio.

Malu should perhaps be read *Balu* Heb. בלה 'disease': it occurs again in line 24.

Masku, the skin. Chald. משך 'skin' occurs frequently. *Uktattu* 'was broken,' from כתת fregit.

Udumuk 'was lifeless' from Syriac דמך mortuus, see Schindler p. 398.

V, 23. Take him, Urhamsi! carry him to be cleansed.

V, 24. His disease may it be washed off in the water like . . . . . .

V, 25. *Laddi* *maski-su-ma*
may he cast off his (diseased) skin, and
libil tamtu *dabu*
may the sea carry it away: (that) a good (one)
lu-zabu *zumur-su*
may grow young again over his body.

NOTES.—*Laddi* from Heb. ידה jecit.

Libil: from *bil* 'to carry': frequent in Assyrian.

Lu-zabu is a remarkable word. It exactly represents the Arabic verb *zabi* which Schindler (p. 1, 513) translates juvenem se facere: juvenescere: re-puerascere: the root of the word being צבי juvenis (see Schindler same page). Catafago's Arabic dictionary has young, *shāb:* youth, *shabāb:* boy, *sabi:* boys, *subyān:* boyishness, *subā*. This is the same word as צבה in Schindler.

V, 26. *Luddus* *parsiqu* *sha kakkadi-su*
(and that) may grow new the hair(?) of his head.

NOTES.—*Luddus* (from Heb. חדש 'new,' a very common verb in Assyrian) means 'be it renewed or restored.'

Parsiqu is an unknown word. Mr. Smith conjectures 'hair.'

V, 27. *Tidiki* *lu-labis* *zubat*
take care that he keeps covered the cloak
bulti-su
of his body.

V, 28. *adi* *illaku* *ana* *ali-su:* *adi*
until he shall come to his city: until
ikassadu *ana* *nrkhi-su*
he shall arrive at his road (destination?)

NOTES.—*Tidiki*, take thou care! from Heb. דאגה 'to be careful': solicitus fuit. Gesenius has many examples.

Zubat bulti-su occurs also in the legend of Ishtar.

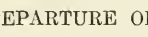
V, 29. *Tidiku* *sipa* *ai* *iddi-ma*
take care that the ointment never he may cast off,

edis *lidis.*
(but with) new let him renew it.

These two words *edis lidis* are from the same root Heb. חדש 'new.' See note to V, 26. The spelling of this verb varies a good deal.

Sipa, ointment. Chald. שפ unxit. This word has already occurred in IV, 51.

Iddi 'he may cast off.' Heb. ידה jecit, abjecit.

After this the narrative goes on to say (in nearly the same words) that Urhamsi followed these orders, washed Izdubar in the sea, and nearly completed his cure. The only word necessary to point out is *izzapi* 'it grew young again,' the preterite of the verb in V, 25 where we had its optative  *lu-zabu.*

Departure of Izdubar.

V, 36. Izdubar and Urhamsi got into their ship (*irkabu elappu*).

V, 37. [*ana id*]*du-sun* *irtakbu*
side by side they rode.

V, 38. Then his wife said to Xisuthrus.

V, 39. *Izdubar* *illaka:* *inakha,*
Izdubar is going away: he is purified,

isuda.
he is bright.

V, 40. *Mina* *tattadanna-ma:* *itar* *ana*
a remedy thou hast given him: he returns to

mati-su.
his country.

Notes.—*Inakha* he is purified, from Heb. נקה purus, mundus.

Isuda from Heb. עשת nitidum esse: to shine: to be bright: used of the skin in Jerem. v, 28 "שמנו they are anointed (or fat), עשתו and they shine." Furst also says (p. 1105) עשת 'to shine' (of the skin).

V, 41. *U sû* *islim* *parissa*
then he (Xisuthrus) saluted the departure

Izdubar
of Izdubar.

NOTES.—*Islim:* from *salam*, to salute.

Parissa, departure: separation. Heb. פרש separare.

V, 42. *Elappu* *uddikha* *ana* *kipri.*
the ship was pushed to the shore.

Uddikha was pushed (close to the shore, so that the parties could converse): from נדח to be pushed, the *Niphal* of דחה to push.

It seems quite unnecessary to admit *also* a primitive נדח which Buxtorf gives us.

V, 43. Then Xisuthrus said to Izdubar.

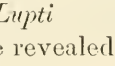
V, 44. *Izdubar* *tallika:* *tannakha:* *tasuda*
Izdubar, thou goest: thou art pure: thou shinest.

V, 45. *Mina* *addanakku-mma:* *tatar*
a remedy I have given to thee, and thou returnest

ana mati-ka.
to thy country.

V, 46. *Lupti* *Izdubar* *amat nitsirti*
I have revealed O Izdubar the concealed story,

V, 47. ..... *lu-ukbi-ka*
[and the secret of the gods] I have told unto thee.

NOTE.—*Mina* 'a remedy' in line 45 is written in the usual way  (see also the previous line V, 40).

V, 46 to VI, 10. I think I can clear up some parts of this obscure narrative. I will first go over it briefly, and then examine the words more in detail.

46. "I have revealed to thee, O Izdubar, the concealed story.
47. I have told unto thee the secret of the gods.
48. This history, as I have told it to thee, in writing
49. Engrave! as a sacred Scribe[1] would engrave it
50. If he were to take this History in his hand!"
51. When Izdubar heard this, he opened [his hand][2].
52. and moved a great stone;

VI, 1. They dragged it along, to .....
2. Then he carried it away [to write on it?]
3. and he carved the great stone,
4. and set it up as a memorial,
5. Then he said to Urhamsi [the boatman]
6. Urhamsi! this History [which I have written]
7. if a man shall retain it in his mind
8. let him repeat it[3] in the midst of Erech Suburi[4]
9. More than the graving tool has written
10. I shall remember; and I will return to engrave it.
(The homeward voyage of Izdubar is then related.)

I will now examine the words more particularly.

V, 48. *Sammu sû kima iddid, in musari*
History this as I have told it, in writing

49. *zikhil-su, kima khartannum*
do thou engrave it! like as a sacred scribe

[*ukitzab*]
would engrave it.

50. *summa samma sásu ikassada katá-su.*
if history this were to reach his hand.

NOTES.—*Sammu*, history. Heb. שמ monumentum: vel memoria (*Gesen.*)

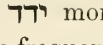
Iddid 'I have shown it' or 'related it.'

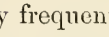
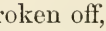
[1] Ιερογραμματευς, one who wrote or carved hieroglyphic or other sacred writing.

[2] The words within brackets are restorations.

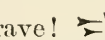
[3] By making a similar monument?

[4] The great city so called.

From Heb. ידד monstravit: indicavit (*Gesen.*) *Musari*, writing: a very frequent word.  . The first letter is broken off, but I think there can be no doubt about it.

Zikhil, engrave!  (see Smith's Assurbanipal p. 54) "two lofty obelisks covered with beautiful carving"  *Zakhali*. These were part of the plunder of Thebes. The carving was therefore executed in hieroglyphics. *Zakhal* occurs as a verb 'to adorn with figures' in Assurbanipal p. 227.

Khartannum is a most interesting word. It is the Heb. *Khartammim* חרטמים (the first מ being doubled), which Gesenius renders Scribæ sacri, scripturæ sacræ, *i.e.* hieroglyphicæ periti, ιερογραμματεις. The word is used both of Egyptian scribes who of course used hieroglyphic characters, and also of the Babylonian Magi in Daniel i, 20 and ii, 2, &c. Gesenius says the origin of the word is to be sought in the Hebrew חרט *stylus*, in which I quite agree with him. Line 49 seems to read *A-khartannum* (for I hardly think that the *A* can belong to the previous word *kima*). This initial *A* seems to represent the Hebrew article ה which is prefixed to the word in Daniel thus ה חרטמים. It is possible that from this frequent usage the ה may have become *part of the word* in common parlance.

The broken word at the end of line 49 I would restore thus:  adding or to complete the line. This gives *ukitzaba* 'he would carve or engrave it,' from חצב 'to carve stone,' or from קצב 'to cut.'

V, 51. *Izdubar annitu as semi-su ipti-ma*
Izdubar this when he heard, he opened
[*katá-su*].
[his hand].

The phrase *annitu as semi-sa* is also found in the legend of Ishtar, Col. II, 20.

V, 52. *urakkiz abni kuptu.*
and moved a stone great.

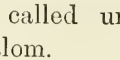
VI, 1. *ildudu-su* *ana* (. . . . . .)
They dragged it along to (. . . . . .)

(The last word in this line is broken off.)

VI, 2. *Sû* *ilki-sa-mma* [*izkur*]
He carried it away [to write on it?]

VI, 3. *ubattik* *abni* *kaptu*
he carved the stone great (and)

VI, 4. *ana* *id* *itzubi-su.*
for a monument he erected it.

Here we have the same verb יצב statuit. I can hardly doubt that the scribe wrote or intended to write the two first words of this line thus:  *ana Id.* *Id* is 'a monument,' (Hebrew יד) and usually takes the verb יצב statuit. Gesenius says: יד monumentum, idem quod שמ (the *sammu* of our tablet).

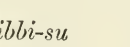
Thus we read in 2 Sam. xviii, 18, "Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the King's dale, and he called the pillar after his own name, and it is called unto this day *Id Absalom*, the monument of Absalom.

In this passage of Scripture 'he reared up' is in the original *itzub*, and 'pillar' is *matzabat*, derived from the same verb יצב *itzub*.

VI, 5 and 6. Izdubar said to Urhamsi: *sammu annu* (this history).

VI, 7. *sa nisu* *in* *libbi-su* *ikassadu*
if a man in his mind shall retain it

VI, 8. *lu disu* *ana libbi* *Uruk*
let him renew it in the midst of Erech.

NOTE.—*Ludisu*  'let him renew': one of the forms of the verb *idis* חדש 'novus fuit' which occurs so frequently, and varies so much in its spelling. Let him repeat it: make a similar monument, at Erech.

VI, 9. *il* *sa* *sibu* *izkur*
More than the graving tool has written

VI, 10. *anaku* *lu-zikir-ma* *lu-tur*
I may remember (and) I may return
ana *zilli*
to engrave it.

NOTES. *Il* (preposition) above: beyond: more than: The same as *eli*. Occurs rather frequently.

Sibu a graving tool, a *stylus*. Schindler p. 478 has זיפ *Zip* Stylus. Buxtorf p. 665 says זיפא *Zipa* Stylus: Cœlum, sculpendi instrumentum, quoting Exodus xxxii, 4 *et formavit illud stylo* בזיפא. This is from the Targum, the Hebrew text has חרט.

Zikir is here (and elsewhere) written by the Accadian sign 𒍣 for the sake of brevity (see Col. I, 28).

Zil 'to engrave.' Same as *zihil* which we had in Col. V, 49.

IZDUBAR RETURNS HOME.

The account of the homeward voyage of Izdubar now commences, but as it is greatly damaged I can only offer a few observations.

VI, 11. *Ana* 𒌋 *kasbu*
About ten kasbu (70 miles)
iksupu *kusapu:* *ana*
they had reckoned the reckoning: (but) about
𒌋𒌋 *kasbu* (. . . . . .)
twenty kasbu [they had really gone]

NOTE.—The last word is broken off. The sense of the passage (and especially what follows) appears to require the translation which I have given. *Iksupu*. Heb. חשב is to count, reckon, or estimate.

VI, 12. *imur-ma bura Izdubar* . . . . . .
then Izdubar perceived a lighthouse.

Bura a lighthouse or beacon (Chald. בעור *lampas* from בער ignis. What follows next is very much broken; but the part

which is left implies that Izdubar found, to his great sorrow, that his calculation (or reckoning) had been very erroneous. On discovering this he lamented himself:

VI, 17. Tears ran down his cheeks, and he said to Urhamsi

18. To what purpose, Urhamsi, have I spent my time in deep thinking?

19. For what has my mind been searching?

20. I did not obtain this success for myself

21. But this great light upon the land has caused this success.

By 'this success' he means their safe arrival. The beacon of fire probably guided them to the entrance of the port.

22. For lo! now at the twentieth *kasbu* this fiery beacon blazes up.

---

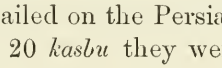
23. Now I will open the cover of the Vase and I will pour away the ointment.

24. For, the sea will not bring back what I now throw away!

25. Then the ship grounded upon the shore, and they reckoned the reckoning to be 20 *kasbu*.

26. And after 30 *kasbu* they made joyful music, and arrived at the city of Erech Suburi.

So primitive a narration cannot be without its difficulties. But I think that they sailed on the Persian Gulf and having reached the land after 20 *kasbu* they were employed during several more *kasbu* in ascending the river to Erech. The joy of Izdubar on making the land is very quaintly expressed: "Now I will throw away my medicaments, and all signs of my illness shall disappear in the sea."

OBSERVATIONS.—VI, 18.  *in khaidai* 'in my deep thoughts.'

This is the Chald. חידא res perplexa: ænigma: calliditas. He means his calculations to discover the ship's course, or perhaps his observations with the astrolabe, which they were in the habit of employing.

VI, 19. [cuneiform] ([cuneiform]) *ibahu* 'has been searching.' Heb. בעה 'to search' occurs frequently.

VI, 21. [cuneiform] *Ur makh* the great light: from Heb. אור *Ur*, light. Written exactly the same as *Ur makh* 'a Lion,' which is likely to cause mistakes of translation. I will therefore add a few remarks. One meaning of [cuneiform] *Ur* in Assyrian is 'a dog' (Syllab. 762 [cuneiform] . [cuneiform]) *ur . kalbu* (Heb. כלב a dog). Hence most Assyriologists are of opinion that a Lion was called *Ur makh,* quasi 'Canis maximus.' Similarly a Leopard was called *Ur barra.* But as *Ur* has several meanings so *Ur makh* may have as many, *makh* being merely an adjective magnus: prægrandis.

I will take this opportunity of remarking that in vol. 3 p. 593 of the Transactions Mr. Smith says that [cuneiform] *nisi* sometimes means 'a Lion,' being explained by [cuneiform] in the tablet S 954. But is not this gloss susceptible of a quite different explanation? The consideration of the passage in VI, 21 makes me think that the scribe meant to explain *nisi* by *ur makh* a great light, or beacon. This is strongly confirmed by the fact that *Nis* (in Hebrew נס) signifies 'a beacon.' Gesenius says: 'res elata: signum latè conspiciendum.' Also in Syriac ניסא *nisa.*

Urru (day) is derived from *Ur* (light) as the Latins say *Lux* for 'a day.' Centesima lux est hæc: this is the hundredth day (Cicero).

The next few lines stand thus in the original:

VI, 22. *eninna ana* 20 *kasbu edu unassa-mma.*
behold! after 20 kasbu this fire is displayed.

23. *dada ki abtu, attakhu*
the vase now I will open, I will pour away

samnut.
the ointment.

24. *tamta ai itasha sha ki anaku*
the sea not will bring back what now I
lu-akkhiz.
throw away.

25. *u elappu etiziz as kipri. Ana* 20
then the ship stood fast upon the shore. At 20
kasbu iksupu kusapa.
kasbu they reckoned the reckoning

26. *ana* 30 *kasbu iskunu nubatta. Iksudu - mma*
at 30 kasbu they made music. And they arrived

27. *ana libbi Uruk Suburi.*
within Erech Suburi.

NOTES.—VI, 22. *Edu unassa-mma.*
this beacon fire is displayed.

Edu 𒌋𒁹 𒀀𒀀 Heb. אוד Syr. אודא a burning brand; Lampas. Lignum ardens (*Schindler*). Hence any fire signal or beacon might be so called.

Unassa - mma 'blazes up.' From נשא to blaze up (Sch. p. 1170) whence Heb. *masa* משאה 'a fire': incendium: and משאת a fire signal: signum igne datum (*Gesenius*). Example: Jerem. vi, 1, Blow the trumpet: set up a fire-signal!

[This was to alarm the country and give notice of the approach of the enemy's army].

Dada, the cover of the Vase. In Chaldee דד *dad* (see Buxt. p. 503) who says, דד epistomium vasis, aquam continentis, quòd instar mammæ muliebris factum erat, et aquas effundebat. A more usual form is תד mammæ: ubera. It is the same as the Hebrew שד *mamma.*

It is possible however that *Dada* may be the Heb. דוד 'a pot.' Olla.

Ki. Now. Heb. כה nunc. Also in l. 24.

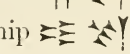
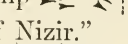
Aptu. 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 'I will open.'

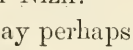
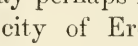
Attakhu. I will pour away: from Syriac נקא *libavit* which occurs frequently on the tablets.

Samnut 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒁹 𒀀 Ointment. This word is not unfrequent in Assyrian: it is the Heb. שמן ointment. (Unguentum: oleum: pinguedo: *Buxt.* 'oil, fat, or unguent.')

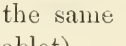
Itasha (l. 24) 'it will bring': from נשא 'to bring': portavit.

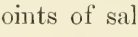
Akkhiz 'I threw away'—foras ejeci: from חוץ foras.

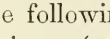
Etiziz (l. 25) stood fast—was aground—I think we should read in the text  as in the nearly similar passage III, 32 "the ship  *itiziz* stood fast, or was ashore, on the land of Nizir."

Line 26 may perhaps mean that when the travellers drew nigh to the city of Erech, the inhabitants 'made joyful music' in honour of their safe return. The words are  *iskunu nubatta*. I have treated of this word in No. 494 of my glossary and also in vol. 2, p. 42 of our Transactions.  *nubatta* means a festival accompanied with Music. It comes from the Arab. *nobat* music, whence *nobati* a musician (see Catafago's dictionary). And the word has been adopted into Persian *nobat-khanah* or *nobat-gah* 'a music gallery' Richardson's Dictionary, p. 1608.

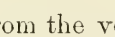
In the older Assyrian it is *nabd*, plur. *nabdan*, see line 70 of the obelisk of Salmaneser, where the king says that he reached with his army the source of the Tigris, and *nabdan khudut askun* "I made joyful music." It will be observed that the same verb is used (*askun* on the obelisk, *iskunu* on the tablet).

The remainder of the Deluge Tablet appears not to present any points of salient interest. Urhamsi is sent forward to examine the present state of the city of Erech, and he reports (though I translate this doubtfully) that one-third of it contains the citadel, one-third gardens, and one-third the temple of Ishtar with its precincts. However that may be, the next line VI, 32 says: "these three joined together (*attabak* from דבק to join) are the sections or divisions of the city of Erech." Mr. Smith renders  *bitru* 'the divisions,' in which I think he is right, for the Hebrew has the word בתר sectio.

The title of the tablet is found in line 34, which says "Eleventh tablet, *sa naqbi imuru*  *Izdubar*.

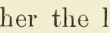
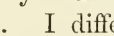
Mr. Smith renders  "the hero" but ought we not rather to read *Kubur* 'the Hero'? Heb. גבור heros: (so Gesenius translates it). It seems to be just the word we want. Genesis vi, 4, "there were Giants (גברים) in the Earth in those days."

I would suggest the following translation: "Eleventh portion of the wanderings (or adventures) of the hero Izdubar."

 *naqbi:* from the verb נקפ. Gesenius says it means *in orbem ire*, both in Job and Isaiah: both passages refer to the circulating *year* and its festivals. This suits the idea of Izdubar being Hercules with his twelve labours, or *Οδυσσευς* the *traveller*.

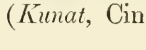
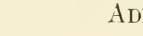
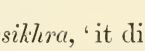
Although I have made numerous remarks upon the Deluge Tablet, yet I agree very generally with Mr. Smith in his translation of all the *essential* parts of the narrative—the building of the Ark—the flood—the sending birds out of the Ark to see whether the land was dry—the sacrifice of thanksgiving offered by Xisuthrus or Noah after he came out of the Ark, &c., &c. I differ from him chiefly in the unimportant sequel of the story, the details of the illness and cure of Izdubar.

Remarks on the name of the father of Xisuthrus.

Ubara-tutu according to Mr. Smith p. 533 means 'servant of the god *Tutu*.' And in p. 590 he quotes the tablet K 2107 where this god is named *Tutu muallat ili, muddis ili*, "the generator and restorer of the gods." Such a title implies one of the *principal* deities. Now I find on tablet 140 (otherwise marked 109*b*) an Ode to Nebo, in the first line of which he is called *bunu*  the servant? of the god *Tutu*, whereas on the tablet 111*a* he is called *bunu*  the servant? of Bel. Hence *Tutu* is no other than Bel himself.

Tutu or *Uttu* is used in the Accadian language for *parent* or *father*. This agrees well with his title of "generator and restorer of the gods." And the Greek name Ardates in Berosus may easily be explained as *Arda-uttu* 'servant of Uttu': while Otiartes may be the same name reversed viz. *Uttu-arda*.

Addendum to the Notes on III, 48, the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving.

There is a passage in the tablet marked 52*a*, which describes a similar pile of aromatic substances. The list of them is as follows:  (Cedar-wood) (Cypress-wood). (*Kan khiga*, sweet cane). (*Simbur*, Spikenard).  (*Simbul*, Spice. This is the Heb. שבל *spica*)  (and) (*Kunat*, Cinnamon? this last is doubtful).

Addenda.

III, 44. *Ul issikhra*, 'it did not return'—This verb is the Heb. סחר rediit, conversus est.

IV, 32. *Tuttá* may be from the Heb. root עות help: succour. *Tuttá atta*, thou hast been succoured.

V, 21. Xisuthrus says to the boatman: 'the man whom thou hast brought hither *iktazu malú pagar-su*, 'his whole body is diseased.'

Iktazu from קצע decorticavit (*Schindler*).

V, 23. The boatman is then told to *nurse* Izdubar with the greatest care, during his homeward voyage. And he is directed to bathe him in the sea.

Line 23 says: Carry him, Urhamsi; take him to be washed (*ana namsi*, from מישע to wash).

Line 24. *Mali-su in mi kima illi limsi*, dip the whole of him into the sea, "like an infant."

Limsi, 'dip' or 'plunge': from the same verb מישע.

Illi, 'an infant,' is the Heb. and Syr. עול infans: parvulus. The word occurs elsewhere in the inscriptions.

In lines 30, 31 the boatman obeys these commands, which causes the same words to be repeated again. But the verb *imsi* is now in the preterite tense.

V, 41. This passage should be translated: "Xisuthrus *assisted* the departure of Izdubar."

Issi 'he assisted,' from Heb. ישע to help or assist. This verb occurs in several other places.

VI, 1. He chose a great stone. *Ildudu su ana zumbi*, 'and they dragged it to a waggon': *sû ilki-samma*, 'and he carried it away.' The broken word *zu* . . . . may be *zumbi*, waggon.

VI, 12. *Bura* seems identical with the Greek *Πυρα*, a fire-beacon. This shows the connection between *Πυρ* and the Hebrew root בער of the same meaning.

VI, 24. I would now translate this passage: *Tamti ai itasha sa ki anaku lu-akkhiz*, 'it will not pollute the sea, what I now throw into it.' The sense remains nearly the same, but I think *itasha* means 'it will pollute,' from Heb. טוש in Hiph. אטיש polluit.

Akkhitz 'I throw away': from Arabic נקצ *nakhitz* abrogavit: sustulit: delevit (*Schindler*).

HISTORICAL INSCRIPTION OF ESARHADDON.

By W. Boscawen.

Read 4th May, 1875.

This inscription, which contains a fragmentary account of the tenth campaign of *Esarhaddon*, in Phœnicia and Egypt, was brought by Mr. Smith from Assyria on his last expedition there, and was briefly noticed by him in his paper read before this Society in July last. Through the kindness of Mr. Smith I have been enabled to copy the inscription, and, with his assistance, to restore portions of it, so as to get a fair text. The translation is as follows:—

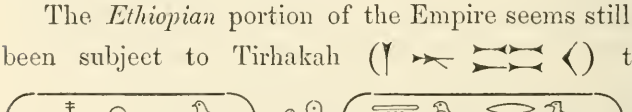
1. . . . . The second time
2. I caused to sit. Bihilu
3. Bil-idina in the city of Kullimir
4. To the borders of Assyria I restored
5. Tributes to my lordship.
6. In my 10th expedition
7. . . . . my face to
8. (which in the language) of the people of Kush and Muzur (are called)
9. I gathered the strong armies of Assur, which within
10. (Nisan) the first month from my city of *Assur* I departed. The rivers Tigris and Euphrates I crossed
11. Regions difficult I penetrated
12. in the course of my expedition against Bahal king of Tyre, who to *Tirhakah* king of Ethiopia had entrusted
13. The yoke of Assur my lord he threw off and made defiance

14. Towers against him I raised . . . . . food and drink (?) to . . . . . their lives I *stopped*
15. from the land of Egypt the camps I assembled, to the land of Miluaha I directed the march
16. 30 kaspu (210 miles) of ground from the city Apqu (Aphek) which is near the land of *Samaria* to the city of *Raphia*
17. To the frontiers of the land of Egypt a place which has no water . . . . . a very great desert (?)
18. water with buckets for the army . . . . . carried.

Reverse.

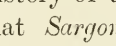
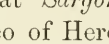
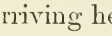
1. Then the command of Assur my lord my ears entered . . . . . *mind*
2. camels . . . . . of the kings of Arabia all of them . . . . them
3. 30 kaspu of ground a journey of 15 days in I marched
4. 4 kaspu of gound with stones great (covered) I went
5. 4 kaspu of ground a journey of 2 days . . . . . snakes with two heads . . . . . death and
6. I trod . . . . . and crossed 4 kaspu of ground a journey
7. of . . . . . 4 kaspu of ground a journey of 2 days
8. 15 kaspu of ground a journey of 8 days I marched.
9. Merodach the great lord to the assistance came
10. . . . . the lives of my army 20 days seven . . . .
11. From the border of the land of Egypt
12. From the city of Makau
14. this ground like stones
15. like birds.
16. red and sarku
17. enemies violent to
18. (from) the city I *swept* (?).

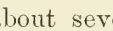
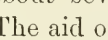
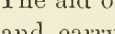
Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, ascended the Assyrian throne in 680 B.C., and during the earlier portion of his reign was engaged in wars in various parts of the East, the first of these campaigns being against the Phœnician king of Sidon, Abdimilkut (Ab-di-mil-ku-ut-ti). This monarch had revolted, but on the approach of the Assyrian king he fled across the sea, probably to the Island of Cyprus, the *Yāt-nan* of the inscriptions, the usual refuge of the Phœnician kings. Here he was followed by the Assyrian king, and brought back and beheaded in company with the king of some of the northern Syrian nations, named Sa-an-du-ar-ri. Sidon was demolished and an Assyrian fort raised in its place. Tyre, which had been captured by Shalmaneser, was tributary to the Empire; and in these annals we find the names of Ba-ha-lu, Bahal king of Tyre, and Mi-na-si-e, Mennaseh king of Judah, as paying tribute to him. *Phœnicia* and *Syria* seem to have remained peaceful until the ninth campaign of this king, which was his most important, but of which we have but few contemporary annals. But a very full account of it may be gathered from the annals of his *son* and successor *Assurbanipal*, the *Sardanapalus* of the *Greeks*. From these we learn that *Essarhaddon* had attacked *Tirhakah* and captured the whole of Upper Egypt, which he divided into twenty minor kingdoms, under various kings, the chief of whom was *Necho*.

The *Ethiopian* portion of the Empire seems still to have been subject to Tirhakah () *Tahārqā* of the hieroglyphics, and on the departure of the Assyrian king or his army the banished king renewed his hostilities.

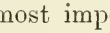
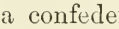
From the inscription, discovered by Mr. Smith, it appears that he induced the Tyrian king *Bahal* to revolt, at the same time probably attacking the Assyrian viceroys in Egypt

himself. The expedition of the Assyrian king to suppress the revolt *forms* his tenth expedition, and probably was in in the year B.C. 672.

Hastily gathering his army, he started from the city of Assur, the ancient capital of the Assyrian empire, the site of which is marked by the modern *Kalah Shergat;* he crossed the Euphrates and Tigris, and marched to Apqu  , the Biblical Aphek, a city at the northern extremity of *Samaria*. Detaching a portion of his army to blockade Tyre, he marched on to *Raphia*  Ra-pi-hi, a town on the borders of Egypt. This town was of considerable importance in the history of the Assyrian and Egyptian wars. It was here that *Sargon* defeated the *Egyptians*, under *Sabaku*, the Sabaco of Herodotus, and founder of the XXVth Dynasty. On arriving here, after the forced march from Aphek, a distance of 30 kaspu, about 200 miles—the kaspu being equal to about seven miles—they found the boundary stream dry. The aid of the kings of Arabia was obtained to draw water and carry it on camels for the use of the army. One of the most important of the wars of this king had been against a confederation of Arab nations in the land of Bazu,  *Ba-a-zu*, which appears to denote the nomadic tribes of Arabia. Amongst the allies are found the names of four queens, a custom peculiar to these nations.[1]

The king now marched on to reach the seat of the revolt in Lower Egypt, but the inscription unfortunately does not state whether he was successful or not. But from his son's annals it appears that he re-established order in the kingdom of Upper Egypt, which he had divided into twenty small kingdoms, the principal of which was at *Memphis*  Mi-im-pi, under  Ni-ku-u, and extending as far inland as Thebes  Ni-ha.

Having established order here he returned to Assyria, and

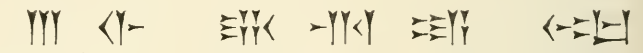
[1] In the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser II, Samsi  Queen of the Arabians, is spoken of as ruling over the land of  *Sa-ba*, the Biblical שְׁבָא *Sheba*, that is the *Sabeans*, or Arabia.

probably, soon abdicated the throne of *Assyria* in favour of his son, retaining that of *Babylon* for himself. This took place probably in the year B.C. 668, and in the latter part of that year Esarhaddon died, and *Assurbanipal* reigned alone.

In no other inscriptions of his reign do we find any mention of the capture of *Tyre*, and it seems to be very probable that the blockade was retained during the remainder of the reign, and the capture completed by Assurbanipal in his second or third year.

In the Annals of Assurbanipal, translated by Mr. Smith, we read as follows:—

PAGE 58.

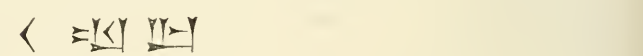
84. 

ina salsi gar ri - ya eli

In my third campaign against

Ba - ha - li sar mat zur - ri

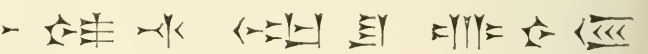
Bahal king of Tyre

85. 

lu - u - al - lik

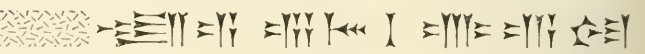
I went.

From this it would appear that it was in his third war that Assurbanipal renewed his attack on Tyre, for in line 8 we read—



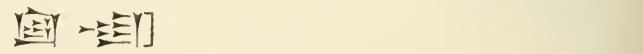
hal - zu - ti eli - su u - rak - kis

fortresses [towers] against him I raised



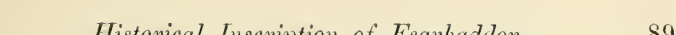
. . . . . li - e nisi - su u - dan - nin

. . . . . *his people I strengthened*



ma zir - tu

the watch

88. 

ina tam - ti va na - ba - li

on sea and land

gar - ri - ti - su u - zab - bit

his roads I took

(v.)

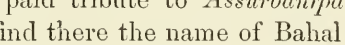
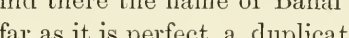
a - lak - ta su ab - ru - uz

his geing out I stopped.

The inscription then goes on to state that the people were forced to surrender for want of water. From this and the previous inscription it would appear that the blockade of Tyre extended up to the second or third year of Assurbanipal, when it was taken.

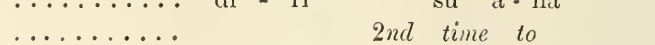
But a contradiction to this idea seems to appear in the list of kings who paid tribute to *Assurbanipal*, as given in Cylinder C. We find there the name of Bahal king of Tyre.

This list is, as far as it is perfect, a duplicate copy of the one given in the annals of Esarhaddon, and the scribe in compiling the annals of *Assurbanipal* may have copied that list and inscribed the name of Bahal amongst the kings by an error. Still I think there is little doubt that the siege of Tyre did extend unto the reign of *Assurbanipal*, and that the city was finally taken by him.

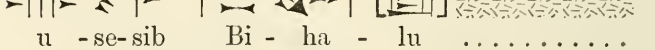
The events spoken of in the first lines of the inscription refer to a revolt in a city  *Kul-li-im-mi-ri*, *Kullimir* on the east of the *Tigris*. There appears to have been a revolt here, and a person named Bel-idina  , was placed over it as ruler. The city is mentioned once in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II, as a place in which he erected an image of himself; but the exact locality is not known.

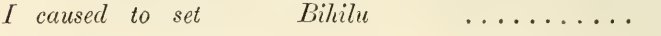
FRAGMENT S 2027.

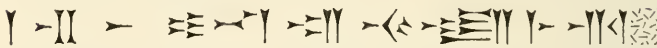
1.
. . . . . di - ri su a - na
. . . . . *2nd time to*

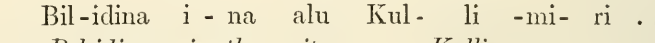
2. 
u - se-sib Bi - ha - lu . . . . . .
I caused to set Bihilu . . . . . .

3.
Bil-idina i - na alu Kul- li -mi- ri . . . .
Bel-idina in the city Kullimur . . . .

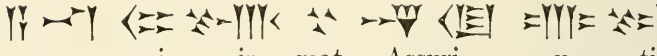
4. 
a - na mi - zir mat Assuri u - tir
to the borders of the land of Assyria I restored

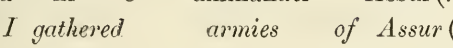
5. 
Man- da - at - ti bilu - ti ya
tributes of my lordship

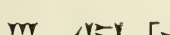
6. 
ina x kharrani · ya
In my 10th — my expedition

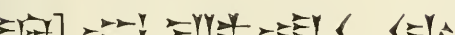
7. 
u - sa . . . . pa - nu - u - a a - na
. . . . *my face to*

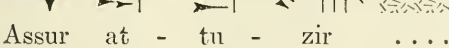
8.
[sa - ina - pi] - i nisi mat Ku - u - si
which in (?) *the language of the men of the land of Kush*

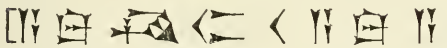

u mat Mu - zur
and Muzur

9. 
ad - ki - e ummanati Assur(?) gab-sa-a- ti
I gathered armies of Assur (?) strong

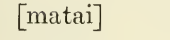

sa ki - [rib]
which within

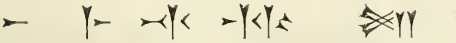
10. 
[Nisan] arkhu - ris - tu - u ul - tu alu - ya
Nisan the month first from my city


Assur at - tu - zir .....
Assur I departed .....


[Nahr Diglat u Nahr Purat e - bir]
The river Tigris and Euphrates I crossed

11.
[matai] mar - zu - u - ti .....
regions difficult .....


ud - di - ikh
I penetrated

12. 
ina mi - ti - ic kharran - ya eli
in the course of my expedition against

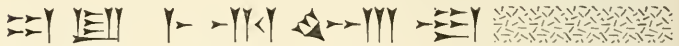
Ba - h - al sar mat Zur - ri sa
Bahal king of Tyre, who

a - na Tar - qu - u sar mat Ku - u - si
to *Tirhakah* *king of Kush (Ethiopia)*

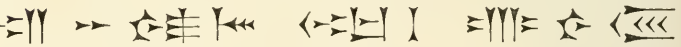
si - ip - ri - su it - ku - lu
his letters *had entrusted*

13.

[niru] Assur bel - ya is - la - a
the yoke of Assur *my lord* *threw off*

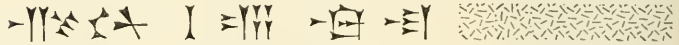


ab - lu mi - ri - ikh - tu .....
defiance .....

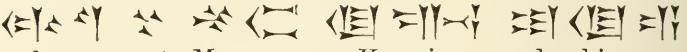
14. 

hal - zu - ti eli - su u - rak - kis
towers *against him* *I raised*

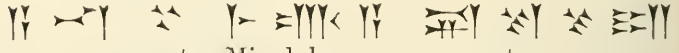
a - ka - lu va mu .....
food *and* *drink* (?)



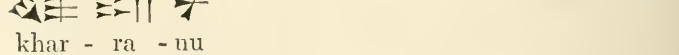
napisti su - un ak - la .....
their *lives* .....

15. 

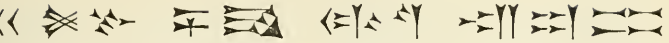
ul - tu mat Mu - zur Karasi ad - ki - e
from the land of Egypt *the camp* *I assembled*

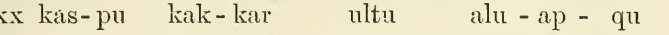


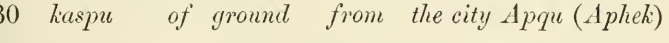
a - na mat Mi - luh - a us - te - se ra
to the land of Miluha *I directed*

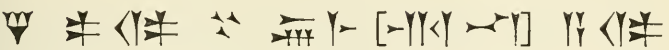


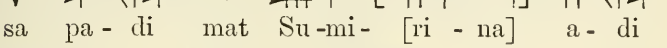
khar - ra - uu
the road

16. 
xxx kas-pu kak-kar ultu alu-ap-qu
30 *kaspu* *of ground* *from* *the city Apqu* (*Aphek*)

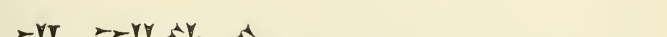

sa pa-di mat Su-mi- [ri-na] a-di
which (*is*) *near* *Samaria* *to*


alu Ra-pi-há
the city *Raphia*

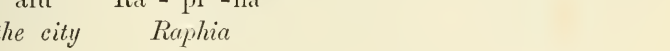
17. 
a-nu i-te-e-ti ina mat Mu-zur a-sar
to *the frontiers* *in the land of Egypt* *a place*


nahru-la-i-su-u khar-khar-ri dan-dan-ut
river (?) *his* *not* *a desert* (?) *very great*

18.
me ..... ina di-lu-u-ti .....
waters ..... *with* *buckets* .....


ummani u -sa-as-ki
the army *carried*

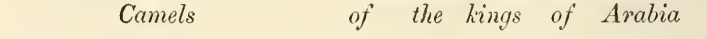
Reverse.

1. 
Ki-i ki-bit Assur bil-ya ina
Then *the command* *of Assur* *my lord* *in*

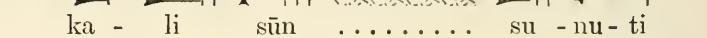
usni-ya ip-si va ..... ka-bat-ti
my ears *heard* (?) ..... *mind* (*liver*)

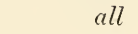
2.
Gam - mal - li sa sarrani mat A - ri - bi
Camels of the kings of Arabia

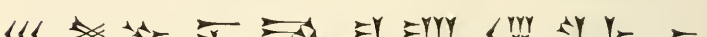
ka - li sūn ..... su - nu - ti
all of them ..... them

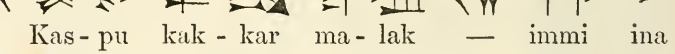
3. 
Kas - pu kak - kar ma - lak — immi ina
30 *Kaspu of ground a journey* 15 *days in*

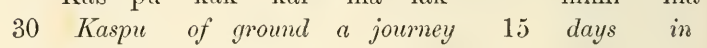
..... ar - di
..... *I marched*

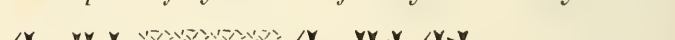
4. 
kas - pu kak - kar ina abni gab - e ....
4 *kaspu of ground with stones great* (?) ....


a - lik
I went

5. 
kas - pu kak - kar ma - lak immi tsiru
4 *kaspu of ground a journey of two days snakes*

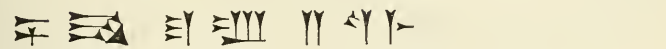

kakkadi ..... mu - ut - va
with two heads ..... death and

6. 
ad - das - is va e - ti - ic kas - pu
I trampled on and crossed 4 *kaspu*


kak - kar ma - lak .....
of ground a journey .....

7.

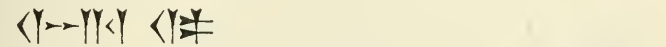
sa zu - ub - bu - bu ..... — kas - pu
of *zubbubu* ..... 4 *kaspu*



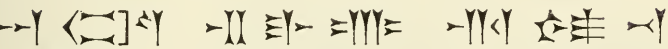
kak - kar ma - lak — immi
of ground a journey 2 *days*

8.

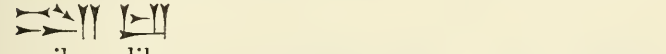
— kas - pu kak - kar ma - lak — immi ....
15 *kaspu* *of ground* *a journey* 8 *days* ....



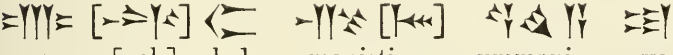
ar - di
I marched

9. 

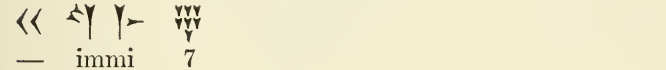
Marduk Bil - rabu - u ri - zu - ti
Marduk *the great lord* *to the assistance*



il - lik
came.

10. 

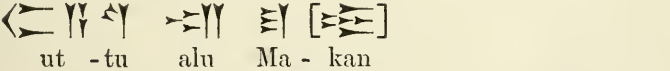
u - [pal-] - lad mapisti ummani ya
he saved *the lives* *of my* *army*



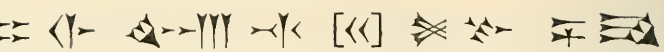
— immi 7
10 *days* 7

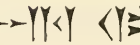
11.

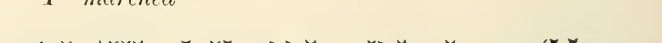
istu mi - zir mat Mu - zur Ma - kan - nu
from the border *of the land of Egypt* *to Makan*

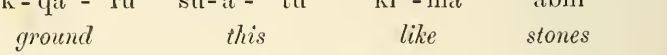
12. 

ut - tu alu Ma - kan
from the city *Makan*

13. 
mi - si - ikh - ti — kas - pu kak - kar
a measurement of 20 *kaspu of ground*

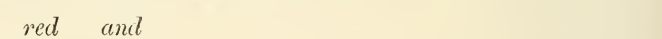

ar - di
I marched

14. 
kak - qa - ru su - a - tu ki - ma abni
ground this like stones

15. 
ki - ma tsip - ri
like birds

16.
da - mu - u sar - ku
red and

17.
nis - nakir aq - zi a - na
enemy extreme to

19. 
alu is - ic
the city

Notes.

LINE

1. 𒋗 *Su* is frequently used to denote plurality of time, as in the *Black Obelisk;* the reading of it is doubtful.

8. *Ina pi nisi;* literally, in the mouths of the people. Heb. פה.

10. *Attuzir*, I departed, to go forth; *ebir* to cross. Heb. עָבַר.

LINE

10. 𒀸𒌓. The month Nisan was the first month of the Assyrian year. I have supplied this here as the tablet is worn; but I have little doubt of its correctness. This would be the first expedition of the year, probably B.C. 672.

11. *Sipri*, letters, from ספר to write. Probably letters of command over the Tyrian army.

12. *Urakis*, literally, *bound round*, denotes the incircling by the besieging army. Comp. Heb. רָכַס *tied or fastened.*

18. *Diluti*, *buckets*. Heb. דְּלוֹ *bucket.*

20. *Gammal*, a camel. Heb. גָּמָל.

21. *Malak*, a *journey*, from alik 'to go.' Comp. Heb. מְהֲלָךְ a journey.

33. *Tsipri*, fowls or birds. Chald. צָפַר a bird.

34. *Damu*, red, probably refers to the desert of the march. Comp. Heb. דָּם, blood.

ON A UNIQUE SPECIMEN OF THE LISHANA SHEL IMRANI,

The Modern Syriac or Targum Dialect of the Jews in Kurdistan and adjacent Countries; with an Account of the People by whom it is spoken.

By The Rev. Albert Löwy.

Read 4th May, 1875.

In Kurdistan and in neighbouring Persian and Turkish possessions, comprising the countries which once were famed under the names of Media, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and under minor designations, Jews continue to reside who, like their Christian neighbours and probable kinsmen, have retained their identity and their ancient Semitic dialect, notwithstanding the constant oppression, or perhaps *in consequence* of the oppression, they had to endure. To those Jews it is my object to advert, in the present paper; and it is my ardent desire to give an impulse to systematic researches that should be made into the living dialects of the Jewish and Christian people in those remote regions, which now possess a far greater interest for the student of civilisation than they could claim at any former age. At the same time, it is needless to point out how important it is to pursue an inquiry into the dialect of a people, which, since time out of mind, has remained in and about the territory where successful discoveries have disclosed the wondrous ruins of bygone empires, and where perennial and profitable studies might, and should be made of the idiom and habits, the household traditions and proverbs, the deep-rooted benedictions and maledictions, the popular songs, the recitations which mothers teach their children, and the various historical poems of a

neglected and decaying population. Before treating of the linguistic specimen, to which I wish to direct attention (the specimen is a translation of the first chapter and of three verses of the second chapter of the Book of Genesis), I will reproduce a portion of the scanty information I have gathered, partly from *vivâ voce* communications and partly from the published statements of writers who have lived or travelled in Urmiah and in various parts of Kurdistan; and as I have never set foot on countries beyond the limits of Europe, it moreover is my duty to mention how the subject of the present paper first came under my notice.

In 1871, I was for some months, in daily communication with a Persian of a superior class, who gave me some curious information of the degraded and deplorable state of the Jews in his native country. From that time I remained more or less in frequent intercourse with natives of Persia.

Two years later, when travelling on the continent, I undertook, for reasons totally apart from the purpose of the present essay, to inquire into the condition of the Jews in Persia. I noted down many valuable facts communicated to me by honest and keen observers, among whom I mention, with especial acknowledgment, Dr. Polack of Vienna, who for many years had been physician to the former sovereign of Persia, and who furnished me with many data supplementary to those which are contained in his highly interesting work on modern Persia. He corroborated the statements made by other travellers, that in the impenetrable Alpine mountains of Kurdistan, no less than in the plain of Urmiah, there are Jews who speak the language of the Targum, that is, the language in which the existing Chaldean paraphrases of the Hebrew Scriptures have been more or less faithfully preserved since ancient times. The number of Jews in the Persian and the Turkish dominions who speak the language of the Targum, or modern Syriac, is not ascertained.

Dr. Grant, in his anxious search after the lost ten tribes, assumed that those Syrian Christians in Media and Assyria, who are known by the name of Nestorians, may be computed as numbering about 200,000, and that the Jews scattered in

the same regions may be about 20,000 in number; but these figures are mere vague guesses, and are here named solely for the purpose of suggesting to future travellers in Kurdistan to do their utmost in order to obtain correct and trustworthy statistics. I may also mention here, that both the late Dr. Grant and the Rev. Justin Perkins, in their details concerning the Nestorians, assert that the Jews and Nestorians stand in fierce antagonism to each other; whilst the Rev. Dr. Badger remarks that those two oppressed portions of the population live in concord with each other. The information I received from natives of Persia confirmed Dr. Badger's statement; but it is quite possible that among the indigenous multitudes the two contradictory statements may be found to be reconcilable and comparatively correct.

Many of the travellers in the land of the independent Nestorians (in Central Kurdistan) make mention of villages solely inhabited by Jews. Among such, for instance, may be mentioned the village of *Sindor*, near Amâdieh, which, according to one of the Rev. Dr. Badger's informants, contained 360 Jewish families, whilst according to another person the number consisted only of 50 families. Near Bash-Kaleh, Mr. Layard found Jewish wandering shepherds, living in black tents, and tributary to the Turkish governor. They were unable to give an account of their history. Other Jews, poorer perhaps, were found to rove about as small traders, and as workers of golden trinkets which they remodelled for the ladies inhabiting the Mahomedan harems.

Ground down by the chiefs of Kurdish hordes and by irresponsible Turkish governors, the Jews and Christians share with each other a common levelling state of distress. Hence it happened very often to some uninitiated Syrian and foreign travellers that they did not know by the mere appearance, or by the vernacular idioms of the people, whether the natives whom they visited, and who spoke in a peculiar Syriac dialect, were Jews or Christians.

But this alleged identity of the Jewish and Nestorian idioms does not seem to be borne out by facts. The Rev. J. T. Stoddardt, a missionary at Urmiah, who wrote a useful grammar of the modern Syriac language (published in

New Haven, U.S., 1852), states that he had designed to give, in an appendix to his grammar, an outline of the Jews' language as now spoken in the province of Urmiah. Unfortunately he desisted from this plan. Yet there can be no doubt, even if there were no other evidence, that the Jews in the Persian and Turkish highlands, tenaciously faithful to their ancient traditions, shrinking from marriages beyond the pale of their own religion, and compelled by the professional robbers, the Kurds, always to be on the alert for the safety of their secluded hovels, have retained numerous usages and sayings which gradually became invested with irremovable sanctity, and which invite the student of the Semitic languages, or of Biblical and Judaic antiquities, to seek golden grains of knowledge in those remote hiding-places of the Jews.

By an extraordinary occurrence, of which, however, I could not sufficiently avail myself for philological purposes, I came in contact with a Persian Jew from Salmas, a district situated on the north-western side of the lake of Urmiah, and about two days' journey from the city of Urmiah. Although I had many interviews with that Persian, who is an extremely intelligent man, there were but few opportunities for digressing from the consideration of the main subjects which brought him to my house.

When I first asked him what was the language spoken in his native place, he correctly told me that it was Turkish; and as I am not acquainted with that language, our conversations and correspondence were conducted in Hebrew, which he spoke and wrote with considerable fluency. One thing, however, struck me as characteristic of the native of the East who is under the necessity of travelling in the crowds of caravans, and whose language reflects this gregarious habit: he never said or wrote *É-lech* (אֵלֵךְ) "I shall go," but always *Né-lech* (נֵלֵךְ) "We shall go." This word was not used as the plural of self-sufficient dignity, but showed that the individual, as a member of a multitude, regards himself as a mere fractional part of the entire mass.

Shortly before the departure of that native of north-western Persia he brought some of his Christian countrymen

to my house. He did not converse with them in his native Turkish language, but in an idiom of which, notwithstanding its peculiar guttural sounds, I could understand some few sentences, they being very much like those occurring in the Chaldean paraphrases of the Bible (paraphrases which are generally familiar to a Jewish Hebraist). He then explained to me that in his intercourse with brother-Israelites of his native land he spoke a *Targum language*, and he added that it differs somewhat from the dialect in which he conversed with his Christian fellow-countrymen. He also stated that on Sabbaths, the Jewish congregations in his country read their weekly pericopes of the Mosaic Law in the synagogue (in accordance with an ancient Rabinical rule) שנים מקרא ואחד תרגום that is, "*twice in the Scriptural text, and once in the Targum.*" First, they read the text in Hebrew, and then they translate it into their Chaldean vernacular[1] for the purpose of impressing it on the memory of those who should understand the meaning of every word. They then read the text again in Hebrew. This Chaldean or Syriac Jewish dialect is called, according to my informant, the לישנא של עימרני or "*the Imrani language.*" I asked him for the derivation of the word *Imrani*, but he could only conjecturally state that it is connected with Amram, the father of Moses. It seemed to me at first that the word was misspelt, and that it was derived from *imrah* אִמְרָה "speech." but it is more likely that *imrâni* signifies "inhabitant" or "native" The *lishana shel imrâni* would then be tantamount to a "vernacular language."

The time being close at hand when my Persian friend was about to depart, I was unable to obtain from him such information about his dialect and domestic customs as I would fain have desired. I had therefore to content myself with the request that he should translate for me into his vernacular dialect the first chapter of Genesis and three verses of the second chapter (the latter relating to the institution of the Sabbath). As hitherto the Jews of Kurdistan, speaking

[1] It should be ascertained whether this is really the case, or whether it is not the Targum of Onkelos which is read in Persian synagogues.

a modern Syriac dialect, have not been prevailed upon to commit their language to paper for the purpose of philological inquiry, it is no exaggeration, if the specimen, placed before the Society of Biblical Archæology, be described as *unique;* and I hope it will not continue to remain unique.

I may observe, that the Jews in Persia, as in many other countries, write their vernacular in Hebrew characters, and, like the writers of other Semitic languages, they omit to note down the vowel points. I therefore asked this Persian translator, for obvious reasons, that the vowels be inserted in his manuscript. My obliging friend carefully added the vowel signs to the best of his ability, and forgot only here and there to mark the vowels. He then read to me a short passage of his version, and I found to my surprise that his vowels were of no use to me. He appeared to pronounce them with even more disregard to apparent rules than many of the English vowels are ordinarily pronounced. I therefore transliterated the text into English characters in his presence and under his dictation.

I now come to the translation itself. If compared with the modern Syriac version, printed in Urmiah, it presents constant and consistent differences, some of which are characteristic of the peculiarities in the various Chaldean or Aramean dialects, or are characteristic of the Jewish phraseology or of local Jewish versions, which in several details might be improved by learned Jews in Urmiah or in some parts of Kurdistan; for it is very obvious that the writer was frequently at fault both in his spelling and in the meaning assigned to some parts of the Hebrew text. I have reproduced the Jewish version without interfering with it in any way whatsoever, and it must suffice that a beginning has been made.

לִישָׁנָא שֶׁל עִימְרָנִי

Genesis 1.

1. מִרֶישַׁא בִירֶילֵי אִלְהָא אַלִית שִׁימֶי וְאַלִית אַרְא׃

2. וְאַרְא וֶילָא כַרְבִי כְרְבְאִיסְטַן וְכִישְׁכַא אִל סְלְמִית כְרְבִי קוֹדְשׁוֹלִית אִלְהָא מְגֹבַוְוא אל סְלְמִית מַאֶי׃

3. מִירֶי אִלְהַא הִיבִי בֵיחְרַה וְהִיבִי בֵיחְרַה׃

4. כִזֶילֶי אִלְהַא אֻלִית (sic) בֵחְרַה גִיד שִׁיפִירַא מִיגִיבְלֶי אִלְהַא בִגְבִית בֵיחְרַה וְבְגַבִית כִישְׁכַא׃

5. קִירֵילֶי אִלְהַא אִל בֵחְרַא בְיוֹמַא וְאִל כִשְׁכַא קִירֶילֶי בַלֵילֶי הִיבִי עַסִיר וְהִיבִי בַקְטִיו יוֹמִית כוֹשֶׁיבַא׃ פ֗ יום אחד

6. מִירֵי אִלְהַא היבי תַבְקָא בִגַבִית מַאֶי וְהִיבִי מַגוֹבֶי בִגְבִית מַאֶי לְמַאֶי׃

7. וִידְלֶי אִלְהַא אֻלִית תְבַקָה מִיגִיבְלֶי בִגְבִית מַאֶי אֻיִית מִנְטֻוכִית תַבְקֶו בִגַבִית מַאֶי אֻיִית לִילְיֶיא מִנְתַבְקָה וֵילֶי חִתְכַא׃

8. קִירֶילֶי אִלְהַא אֵל תַבְקָה איית שִׁמֶי וְהִיבִי עַסִיר
וְהִיבִי בַקְטִיוֹ יוֹמִית תִירוֹשֶׁב : פ֯ יום שני

9. מִירֵי אִלְהַא הַזִירוֹ מַאֶי מִנְטֻוכִית שְׁמֶי אִל תוֹכַא
כָאָה כִיזִי וִישֻׁולָא הִיבִי חְתְכַא :

10. קִירֵילֵי אִלְהַא אִל וִישֻׁולָא אַרָא אִל מְקְרוֹבֶי מַאֶי
קִירֶלֵי יוֹמַבֶי כִיזֶילֶי אִלְהַא גִיד שִׁיפִירַא :

11. מִירֶי אִלְהַא בְלִי אַרָא בִלִי (סִיבֶי)* זִרִי זַרוֹאֶי סִיבֶי
מֶידַא אִיבַדִית מֵידַא אִל שִׁיקְלֵיו אְיִית זַרוֹאֶי אִיבֶיו אְלִית
אְרַא וֵילָא חְדְכַא :

12. פִילוֹת אְרַא בוֹדַרִית (סִיבֶי)* מִנְזְרִיְנִית זְרִיְנָךְ
אִלְבְטַגִית סִיבָא בֹוֻד (sic) מֶידַא איית זַרוֹאֶי אִיבֶיו אל
בֻוטַגֵיו כִיזֶילִי אִלְהַא גִיד שִׁיפִירָא :

13. הִיבִי עַסִיר והיבי בַקְטִיוֹ יומית תִילְעֻושב : פ֯ יום
שלישי

14. מִירֵי אִלְהַא הִיבִי מְבְחוֹרֵי בִתַבְק אְיִי שִׁמֶי אִל מַגוֹבֵי
בִגַבִית יוֹמַא וְבַגְבִית לֶילֵי וֶילוֹ אִל אוֹנִי אִל אֶילְבֶי אל
יוֹמַבֶי וְאִל שִׁינֶי :

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* The translator subsequently substituted גִילַא for סִיבֶי.

15. וֶילוֹ מְבְהִירִיבַא בִּתַבְקֶי אִיִּית שִׁמֵי אִל מְבְחוֹרֶי אִלִית אִרַא וֶילֶי חִתְכַא׃

16. וִידְלֵי אִלְהַא אִלִית תִירֶי בֶיחְרֶי רֻובֶי אִלִית בֶּחְרַא רֻובַא אִל מְמְלוֹכֵי יוֹמַא וְאִלִית בֵּיחְרַא זוֹרָא אל מְמְלוֹכֶי בַלֶילֵי וְאִלית כֻוכְבֶי׃

17. הִיבְלֶי אָלוֹ אִילְהַא בְּתַבְקָא אִיִּי שִׁמֶי בחירא אִל אַרְא׃

18. אל פַּרוֹקֶי בַיוֹמַא וְבְלֵילֶי אִל אַגוֹבֶי בִּגַבִית בֵּחְרַא בִּגַבִית כִּשְׁכַא כִּיזֶילֵי אִלְחַה (sic) גִיד שִׁיפִירַא׃

19. וֶילֵי עַסִיר הִיבִי בַקְטיוֹ יומית אַרְבוֹשֶׁיב׃ פ̊ יום רביעי

20. מִירֶי אלהא פִּירוֹשוֹן מַאֶי פֶּרוֹשֶׁי גַנְא חיתא פַּרְכַא פַּרוֹכֵי אִילִית אַרְא אילִית סְלְמִית פַּרְדַקָא אִיִּי שִׁמֵי׃

21. בִירֵילֶי אִלְהַא אַלִית אגדחי רוֹבֵי וְאִלִית כֻוֹלוֹ גַאנֵי חיתי רכשני אִיִּית פַּרוֹשֵׁי מַאֶי אֶל קַנְטוֹ אִלִית כוֹלֵי פַּרְכֶי קַנְתְיו אִילִית שִׁיקְלַו כִּיזֶילֵי אִלְהַא גִיד שִׁיפִירַא׃

22. בִירִיכְלֶי אַלוֹ אִלְהַא אל אִימְרַא פִּירִימֻון זוֹדֻון מִילִימוֹן אִלִית מַאֶי בַיְמַבֶי פַּרְכֶי כוֹשִׁי בְאַרְה׃

23. הִיבִי עַסִיר הִיבִי בַקְטיוֹ יוֹמִית כַמְשוֹשֶׁיב׃ פ̊ יום חמישי

24. מִירֵי אִלְהַא פִּילוֹת אַרְה גַאְנַא חיתא (?) אל גַבִית קִינְיַינא רכשני בִהְבוֹאֶי אִרַא אִל גַבִיתְיו וֶילֵי חִתְכַא׃

25. וִידְלֶי אִלְהַא אִלית כאה אַרְא אֶל גַאְבְיו וְאֶלִית
קִינִינֶי אֶל גַאְבְיו וְאֶלִית כוֹלֵי רִיכְשֶׁי הַאְרַה (sic) אֶל גַאְבְיו
כִיזֶילֶי אֶלְהַא גִיד שִׁיפִירַא :

26. מִירֵי אֶלְהַא אוֹדֶין אדם (sic) מִגוֹן שִׁיכְלַן מַגוֹנַן כוֹשִׁי
בִמְסִיִית יְמַע בִפְרְכִית שִׁימֶי בקוניני (sic) בִיכוֹלֵי אֶרַא
בִכוֹלֵי רַכְשְׁנֵי ריכשי (sic) על (sic) הַאְרְה :

27. בִירֶילֵי אלהא אֶלִית (sic) אַדְם בִשִׁיְכְלֶיו מַגוֹנֶיו אִלְהַא
בִירֶילֵי אֶלֵיו בִירוֹנַא וִבִרְתַא בִירֶילֶי אֶלו :

28. בִירִיכְלֶי אֶלוֹ אִלְהַא מִירֶי אִילֶו אִילְהַא פִירִימוֹן זוֹדוֹן
מילִימֻון אלית אַרְא זְפָת בוֹדוֹן כוֹשוֹן בְמְסִיִית יְמַע בְפַרְכִית
שִׁימֶי בִיכוֹלֵי כאה רַכְשַׁנֵי אִלִית על אְרַה :

29. מִירֵי אִלְהַא הְבְנַא הִיבְלִי אִלוֹכוֹן אִלִית כוֹלֶי גִילְא
זִירִי אִל זְרוֹאֶי אִיִית אֶל סִלְמִית כוֹלַא אֶרְה וְאֶלִית
כוֹלְא סִיוְוא אְיִית אִיבֵיו שִׁיקְלִית סִיוְוא זִירִי זַרוֹאֶי אִלְכוֹן
הַבֶי אִל איכַלְא :

30. אִל כוֹלי כית אַרְה וִלְכוֹלוֹ פַרְכֶית שִׁימֶי וִלְכוֹלוֹ רְכְשַׁנֶי
אְיַית אַרְה אְיִית אִיבֶיו גְאְנַא כייתא אְלִית כוֹלֶי פְלְטַנְא
גִילְא אִל אִיכְלַא וֶלֶי חְתְכַא :

31. כִזֶילֶי אִלְהַא אְלִית כוֹלֶי אְיִית וִידְלֶי הַבְנְא שִׁיפִירַא
מִאְחַד וֶילֵי עַסִיר וֶילֵי בְקָטִיוֹ יוֹמית אְרוֹטַא : פ̇ יום ששי

Chapter II.

1. כוֹלוֹ שִׁימֶי וְאֲרַה כוֹלוֹ מַת אִיתְבַא׃

2. פִּירִיקְלֵי אִלְהַא בִּיוֹמִית אֻוֹשְׁבַא סִינֵיתֶיו אְיִית וִידְלֶי
בִּינֶילֵי בִּיוֹמִית אֻוֹשְׁבַא מִכוֹלוֹ סִינֶתֵיו אְיִית וִידְלֵי׃

3. בִּירִכְלֵי אִלְהַא אְלִית יוֹמַא איי אֻוֹשְׁבַא קִידִישְׁלֵי אְלֵיו
גִּיד אִיבֵיו שַׁבְת מִיכוֹלוֹ סִינֵיתֶיו אְיִית בְּרֶילֵי אִלְהַא אל
אִיבְדַא׃ איה אְחִין יוֹמית שבת קודש׃

Genesis I.

1. *Mĕ-ré-sha bĕ-ré-le ĕl-ha a-lĕt shĭ-mé vĕ-a-let a-ra.*

2. *Vĕ-a-ra vê-là cha-ràbĭ chĕ-rab-estan vĕ-chesh-ka èl *sal-met chà-ra-bi qood-shoo-let ĕl-ha ma-jèb-wa al *sal-met màw-ĕ.*

3. *Mè-re el-ha hé-vi bè-chĕ-ra vĕ-ha-vì bè-chĕ-ra.*

4. *Chĕ-zé-lĕ el-hà a-let bè-chĕ-ra gid shpi-ra mè-jĕb-lé el-ha bĕ-gâ-wat bech-rà u-bĕ-gâ-wat chesh-ka.*

5. *Qĕ-ré-le el-ha el bé-chĕ-ra bĕ-yoý-ma vĕ-el chesh-ka qĕ-ré-lè ba-lé-lè, hĕ-wi àw-sĕr vĕ-hè-vi ba-qat-yoy yoy-met choy-shé-ba.*

6. *Mê-re el-ha hé-vì ta-bă-qa bĕ-ga-vèt mò-e vĕ-hè-vi ma-jò-be bĕ-gâ-vèt mò-e la-mò-e.*

7. *Vèd-le el-ha â-let ta-bá-qa mè-jeb-lé bĕ-ga-vet mò-e a-yet men-tu-kèt tā-ba-qé bĕ-ga-wet mò-ĕ a-yet lel-ya men-ta-ba-qa vé-le hàt-cha.*

* The *s* in *salmet* sounds like *th* in *the*.

8. *Qe-re-lè el-ha el tāb-bă-qà a-yet shim-mĕ vĕ-hevi àw-ser vĕ-hĕ-vî ba-qat-yoy yoy-met ti-ru-sheb.*

9. *Mê-rĕ el-ha ha-dhĕ-ru mò-ĕ men-tu-kèt she-mé el tu-ka cha chèzî vi-shu-la he-vi hàt-cha.*

10. *Qè-ré-le el-ha èl vi-shu-la a-ra el meq-roy-vè mò-e qè-ré-lè yoý-ma-vè chĕ-zé el-ha gid shpi-ra.*

11. *Mè-re el-ha bĕ-lî â-ra bĕ-lî gèl-la zĕ-ri zĕ-ro-e; sîve mè-da i-va-dat mè-da èl shiq-lev á-yat zĕ-ro-ĕ è-bev elet a-ra vè-la had-chaw.*

12. *Pĕ-lùt â-ra bo-da-rat gel-la men-zâr-yâ-nĕt zèr-ya-nach el bu-ta-qet si-wa wût meda a-yet za-rò-e e-bev al bu-ta-qev chĕ-zé-lè el-ha gid shpi-ra.*

13. *He-vi àw-ser vĕ-he-vi ba-qat-yoy yoy-met tè-la-wū-sheb.*

14. *Mè-re èl-ha hé-vi mèb-choy-ré bĕ-ta-ba-qa ay shĕ-mé el ma-joy-bé bĕ-ga-vèt yoy-mà wù-be-gà-vet le-lè. vé-lu el o-ni el elâ-vé el yoy-ma-vé vé-el shĕ-né.*

15. *Ve-lu mab-hè-ri-va bĕ-ta-ba-qé ayt shĕ-mé el mab-choy-ré a-let a-ra vé-le hat-chaw.*

16. *Vèd-le el-hà â-let tĕ-rè be-chĕ-ré rū-vé a-lat bè-chĕ-ra rū-va él mam-loy-kè yoy-ma vĕ-a-let be-chĕ-ra zoy-ra el mam-loy-kè ba-lé-lè vĕ-a-let còch-vè.*

17. *Hè-vel-lè a-lu èl-ha be-ta-ba-qa ay shĕ-mé be-chè-rà el a-ra.*

18. *El pa-ro-qé bĕ-yoy-ma wu-ba-lé-lè el ajoy-bé bĕ-ga-vet bè-chĕ-ra be-ga-vèt chesh-ka chĕ-zé-lè elha gid shpi-ra.*

19. *Vè-le aw-ser vè-le ba-qat-yoy yoy-met arbu-sheb.*

20. *Mè-re el-ha pĕ-rù-shun màw-è pe-ru-shè ga-na chay-ta; par-cha paro-ché à-let a-ra é-let *sal-met par-da-qa ay shĕ-mé.*

21. *Bĕ-ré-le el-hâ a-let ash-dô-hé ru-we vĕ-á-lèt kü-lu gâ-na cha-yĭ-taw rach-sha-nè a-yet pa-rú-she mò-e el-qa-nò-tu a-let ku-le par-che qa-na-tav a-lèt shìq-lev chè-zé-le el-hà gid shpì-rá.*

22. *Bĕ-rech-lè a-lu el-hà el i-ma-ra ȝĕ-ri-mun zu-dun mĕ-li-mun a-let maw-e ba-ya-ma-wé; pàr-che koy-shi ba-a-ra.*

* *s* like *th* in *the.*

23. *Hè-wi aw-ser he-vi ba-qat-yoy yoy-met cham-shü-sheb.*

24. *Mè-rĕ el-ha pĕ-lut a-ra ga-na cha-yĭ-taw el-ga-bet qen-ya-na rach-sha-nè bĕ-cha-vu-e a-ra el-ga-wat ve-le het-cha;*

25. *Ved-le el-ha a-let cha-ah a-ra al ga-bav vĕ-â-lat ken-ya-né el ga-bav vĕ-a-let ku-le rach-shé a-ra el ga-bav chĕ-zé-lè el-hâ gid shpi-ra.*

26. *Mé-re el-ha oy-den a-dam ma-goyn shik-lan ma-goy-nān kóy-sh bĕ-mathiet ya-ma bĕ-par-chat shĕ-mé. Ba-qen-ya-ne bĕ-kü-le a-ra bĕ-kü-le rach-sha-nè rach-shi al ha-arah* (sic).

27. *Be-ré-le el-hà à-let adam bĕ-shik-lev ma-goy-nev el-ha be-ré-le a-lev bĕ-roy-na uv'-rà-ta bĕ-re-lè a-lü.*

28. *Bĕ-rèch-le a-loy el-ha me-re è-lü el-ha fe-ri-mun zü-dun mĕ-lî-mun a-let a-ra zaft vudun kü-shun bĕ-*mas-iet yà-ma bĕ-par-chet shĕ-me be-kü-le cha-ah rach-sha-ne a-let a-ra.*

29. *Mè-ré el-ha hav-na hĕ-vè-li e-lo-chun a-lat kü-lé*

* *s* like *th* in *the.*

*gel-la zĕ-ri al za-roye a-yet al *sal-met kü-la a-ra; vâ-let kü-la si-wa a-yet é-bev shéq-let si-wa zĕ-ri za-ro-è a-lĕ-chun ha-véh ali-cha-la.*

30. *Al kü-lé cha-at a-ra wel-kü-lü par-chat shĕ-mé vel-kü-lu rach-sha-né a-yet a-ra èbev ga-na cha-yi-ta a-lat kü-le pal-ta-na gĕ-lá el ichâ-là vé-le hat-chá.*

31. *Chĕ-zé-lè el-hâ â-let kü-lé a-yet vêd-le hav-na shpi-ra mĕ-chad; vè-le aw-ser ve-le ba-qat-yoy yoy-met a-roy-ta.*

Genesis II.

1. *Kü-lu shĕ-mé vă-a-ra kü-lü mat-it-wa.*

2. *Pèr-eq-lé el-hà bĕ-yoy-met ush-va sĕ-né-tev a-yet ved-lé; be-né-le bĕ-yoy-met ush-va mĕ-ku-lu se-ne-tev a-yet vèd-lé.*

3. *Bĕ-rèch-lĕ el-hà â-let yoy-ma ay üsh-va ka-dish-lé a-lev gid e-bèv sha-bat mĕ-kü-lu se-ne-tev a-yet bĕ-ré-lĕ el-hà ál-iva-daw.*

* *s* like *th* in *the.*

Notes.

1. The syllables in the transliteration are divided by hyphens. The syllable which has the main accent of a word is marked by a small perpendicular stroke (ı). In some cases when the accentuation of the translator indefinitely varied in recurring words, I did not lay down my own rule, but marked the accent according to each case of pronunciation.

2. The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, are sounded as in German or Italian; *ü* sounds as in the German *Hütte*.

3. The accents placed over the vowels have the same force as the corresponding French accents.

4. When *a* has the sound of *aw* in *awful*, it is accompanied by a *w*, for example *màw-e* ("water"). Consistently with the change of *a* into *aw*, the ancient Targumists (Onkelos, &c.) and the Arabic writers present the double spelling מוֹי, and מַיָּא, صَوَهٌ and يَمَاهٌ. The transition, on the one hand, of *a* into *o*, and, on the other hand, of *a* into *é* or *è* explains an endless number of difficulties and apparent anomalies in Hebrew and the cognate languages. Compare for instance the radical of the first word in Genesis with its various forms in Hebrew and in the kindred dialects. In this mutability of sound is to be discovered the true cause of the sliding of the *â* (ָ or *Kametz gadol*) into that of ò (ָ or *Kametz chatoph*).

5. The ĕ is equal to an audible shĕvâ (:) in Hebrew words. The translator in using the mark of shĕvâ, the lower point of which he always placed 45 degrees to the left, merely intended to denote his inability to assign the proper vowel sound to the respective word, and often he omitted altogether the vowel mark.

6. א *Aleph*, as a final letter, is sounded softly, differing in this respect from a hé final.

7. ב *Beth*, influenced by a preceding vowel, assumes the sound of *vaw* (ו), with which it often interchanges; f.e. I, 3, הִיבִי *hé-vi* "let there be." The softening of the ב is perceptible even after the efficient preceding vowel has been dropped; f.e. *Ved-lè* (וִידְלֵי) "he made," is derived from עְבַדלֵיה. This ב often turns in the modern Syriac dialect into ו, for which numerous instances may be found in STODDART'S "Modern Syriac Grammar" and in NÖLDEKE'S 'Neusyrische Grammatik." See also I, 26, the third word.

8. ג *Gimel* has a guttural pronunciation. When ג bears a dot at the top (ג̇) it is pronounced like J in Jew.

9. ד *Daleth* as a final letter is subject to elision; f.e. *cho* in *chosheba* I, 5, is derived from חַד "one." In regard to *sheba* or *sheb*, see note 19.

10. ה *Hé* gives to the preceding vowel a hard sound. It is liable to turn into ח. See note 13.

11. ו *Vaw*. Its normal sound is a shade between *v* and *w*, but it imperceptibly assumes the sound of *v*, by which it is generally represented in the transliteration.

12. ז *Zayin* sounds like *th* in *there*. הַזִירוּ "let there be gathered" in I, 9, is transliterated "*hadhero*."

13. ח *Cheth* is not distinguished from the guttural sound of the ב, by which it is therefore frequently replaced.

ח is used as a harsh substitute of the ה occurring in the writings of the modern Syrian Christians, as for instance בֵּיחְרַה "light," instead of בֵּיהִרה. This ח, as a sonant, stands midway between ה and the thickly pronounced guttural ק. Thus it happens that בהר "lustrous," passing in the Jewish pronunciation through the stage of בחר, reappears in the Hebrew word בֹּקֶר *boqer* "morning" or "lustrous" period of the day.

14. ט *Teth* is a palatal sound, the utterance of which is difficult for Europeans, it being pronounced by the tip of the tongue being turned back towards the roof of the mouth. It occurs in *baqtio* "morning."

15. י *Yod*, often a *mater lectionis* of the *i*, does not protect this vowel from sounding indistinctly as a shade between *e* in *pet* and *i* in *pit*.

16. כ *Kaph* replaces the ח in many instances, and has, as in Hebrew, the sounds both of *ch* and *k*; for instance כשכא (*cheshka*), equal to the Hebrew חֹשֶׁךְ "darkness."

17. ל *Lamed* is used as an accusatival demonstrative with prefixed *Aleph*. Before feminine nouns this אל receives the suffix *it*. See אלית, I, 1. This combination is a prolific source of pronominal forms in various Semitic dialects. אל (*al*) as a sign of the accusative case may have passed from an accusatival to a nomitival signification, as has happened in various Arian languages, and here perhaps may be found the true origin of the Arabic definite article.

18. ס *Samech* is often sounded like *th* in "thither." סלמת "visage" (=image) is pronounced *thalmat*. The ס replaces the צ in the word just named. Another instance of such replacement occurs in עסר "evening," which the modern Syrian derives from the same radical as the Hebrew verb עצר "to withhold" or "to restrain." The light of the sun being withdrawn or withheld at the decline of the day.

19. ע *Ayin* differs by a thickness of sound from the simple breathing of the *Aleph*. It gives way to א or ה in ארא or ארה "earth"; or vanishes altogether as in בושב instead of בושבא (בו "one," and שב or שבא, from שבע "seven"). בושבא thus denotes one (day) of the hebdomas, or "first day of the week."

20. פ *Pé* varies in sound just as in Hebrew. It is pronounced like *p* in I, 12, *pĕlut* "let go forth." (This word seems identical with פליט "a runaway." Compare also

the Italian *fuoruscito*). It sounds like *f* in *fĕrimun* "be fruitful."

21. צ *Tsaddi* is a sharp kind of *s*. Its sound is in no case akin to the modern Jewish pronunciation of the *Tsaddi*. See ס, No. 18.

22. ק *Kuph* is expressed by *q*, and has a deep guttural sound somewhat resembling the French *r grasseyé*. Its rough gargling sound cannot be easily represented by the pen.

23. ר *Resh*, when a final radical, absorbs the suffixed ל of the third person singular past tense. For example, instead of using the form מרולי *mèrélè* ("the saying belonged to him," *i.e.*, "he said"), the *lamed* disappears, and the simple form מירי ("he said") is used. See I, 3.

24. ש *Shin* sounds always *sh*.

25. ת *Taw* stands for *t* only. It is the common sign of the feminine gender.

The conflux of Persian, Arabic, and Turanian with purely Syriac words, marks the phases of national convulsions arising from successive invasions and conquests. Yet the Hebraic element preponderates. The lexicographer will notice that the untutored Persian Jew ingeniously explains various etymological difficulties. The Hebrew למינו is rendered by *Shiqlev* "its image." Thus מין becomes clearly connected with the enlarged vocable תמונה a "likeness," or "form." The word *gelah* "grass," may help to give a more natural signification to the sentence גיל גבעות תחגורנה "the hills gird themselves with *verdure*." (Psalm lxv, 13)

All further remarks must be left to a future emendation of the foregoing Syriac version.

ANCIENT METROLOGY.

By Francis Roubiliac Conder, C.E.

Read 1st June, 1875.

The Jewish law treats, with extreme precision, the questions of measurement, number, and weight. Exactitude in these matters was regarded as essential; both as affecting civil rights and as demanded by religious duty. Minute questions as to dower, marriage portions, alimony, inheritance, and distribution of alms, were decided according to the value of a detailed monetary system. The religious observances by which the agriculturist was bound were regulated by a very precise system of land measure. The precise quantities of meal, oil, and wine that were to accompany each different class of sacrifice were prescribed by law; and were verified by standard measures of capacity kept in the Temple.[1] Standard measures of length were also there preserved.[2] The entire system of measure, weight, and value was based upon the language of the Pentateuch, and its maintenance was thus a portion of religion.

In face of the full body of information which the records and the monuments of Jewish history offer to the research of the patient student, what is the state of our actual knowledge of the subject?

The most positive English writer (before the publication of the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem) who has treated of Hebrew linear measure tells us[3] that "according to the rabbis" there were three Jewish cubits, of 15, 18, and 21 inches respectively. It unfortunately happens that not one of the three dimensions quoted is either a Hebrew measure or an aliquot part of a Hebrew measure. Further, Mr. Fergusson observes, that we know "for certain that Hecateus

[1] Minchoth ix, 1. [2] De Vasis, xvii, 9.

[3] Fergusson's "Holy Sepulchre," p. 80.

and Josephus were using the Greek cubit of 18 inches," and that "for all these Temple measurements they used the cubit of 18 inches, and that only." This is in contradiction of the Bible, as well as to the Mishna, and is further inaccurate even as regards Grecian measures.

The latest and ablest English writers on Hebrew weights estimate the shekel at 220 troy grains.[1] They imagine that three separate talents, regarded as measures of weight, existed at the same time, respectively applicable to gold, silver, and copper. Of these, they state that the gold talent, notwithstanding the greater intrinsic value of the metal, was double the weight of the silver talent. And they overlook the fact that their estimate of the copper talent is inconsistent with the plain language of the Pentateuch.[2]

The costly Bible Dictionary contains the admission of the writer of the article on Jewish measures, of his inability to decide, as he says, between Josephus and "the Rabbinists." It gives two estimates of the contents of the Epha, one of which is double the other. What the writer should have said is, that he was unaware of the existence of sources of positive information in the Talmud, and its great commentator; and that the approximate determinations of capacity to be found in Josephus are utterly worthless, inasmuch as five distinct passages exist which are completely discordant among themselves.

With regard to land measure, the outcome of our present information is indicated by the fact that the statements of the Book of Ezechiel[3] are thought to involve such enormous areas as to be either incredible or unintelligible.

It follows that there is ample room for a scientific and authoritative *resumé* of the information, as to Hebrew measures, that is to be recovered from Hebrew literature, and verified by existing monuments, monetary or architectural.

It is true that we can nowhere find a statement as to the bases of this ancient system of metrology, such as that which would be drawn up by modern engineers. Details

[1] Madden's Jewish Coinage, p. 286.

[2] Exod. xxxviii, 29.

[3] Ezech. xlii, 16; xlv, 1-7. "Athenæum," No. 2459.

and indications are to be sought, where they occur, broadcast in the Talmud and in the Bible. But these references, when collected, are both numerous and minute. Their accuracy is vouched by the extreme reverence paid, by the Jewish sages, alike to the written and unwritten Law. Precision in these details was an element of daily life in Palestine; and the comparison of literary with monumental evidence leaves no doubt as to the accuracy of our determinations.

The general field of metrology may be naturally divided into the provinces of linear dimension, whether simple, square, or cubic; weight, which is intimately connected, through monetary denominations, with value; and time. As to the last, I shall not now attempt to do more than call attention to the general unity of form that becomes apparent in the arrangement of these three independent branches of ancient study.

The general outline of that most ancient metrical system into which we are now inquiring is as follows: The primary linear dimensions are taken from the proportions of the human body, and are denoted by corresponding names. But the fixity of standard is maintained by a reference to the length, capacity, or weight of some natural product of organic life, the average value of which was regarded as stable. In linear dimensions this check or means of verification is the barley-corn. In capacity it is the hen's egg.[1] In weight[2] it is the barley-corn.

Two steps are thus necessary before we can speak with certitude as to the basis of Hebrew measures. We must ascertain the average value of the units, or rather measures of verification, prescribed; and we must discover whether such value is unchanged, as referred to the ancient value.

When these bases are laid down, the remainder of the task will be comparatively simple. The divisions, and multiples, of the units of measurement are similarly arrived at in all the different scales, or tables of value.

The barley-corn is the nominal unit of English long measure. Since the time when that scale was determined,

[1] Buxtorff, Lex. Heb. voce לוג. [2] Maimonides, Constit. De Siclis, 1, 2.

the actual length of the average grain has not altered. The inch still accords with the length of three central divisions of a well-grown ear of barley. The measurement is more readily made thus in the ear itself, than by placing the naked grains end to end.

There is adequate reason to conclude that our long measure barley-corn is historically identical with that of the Chaldean scale. The setting out of the rock-scarps, width of piers, and other original work, of the noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem, is exactly commensurate with English inches. We may refer to the span of each of the two great bridges from the Temple to the City; to the piers and recesses at the triple gate; and to the piers of the gallery under the Chel, to the north of the existing platform of the dome of the rock,[1] as good examples of that accordance. And the entire plan of the noble Sanctuary, as drawn by the Royal Engineers on a scale of $\frac{1}{500}$, is so exactly spaced out by a *modulus* based on this commensurate length,[2] that it would seem to have been actually plotted on the paper on that scale.

Two barley-corns, we learn from the Rabbinical writers, made a digit; four digits a palm;[3] five palms a small cubit, and six palms an ordinary cubit. There was also a third, or sacred cubit, the proportion of which is recorded in the Book of Ezekiel,[4] as one-twelfth greater than the ordinary dimension; the reed used to describe the measurements of the Temple being $6\frac{1}{2}$ ordinary cubits long.

We thus arrive at the artificer's cubit of $13\frac{1}{3}$ *inches;* the surveyor's and builder's cubit of 16 *inches;* and the Temple cubit of $17\frac{1}{3}$ *inches;* all precise equivalents of those English dimensions.

The length of the unit of linear measure once determined, square measure becomes only a question of tabulation. I propose to exhibit the various scales synoptically. It is, therefore, only necessary here to say, that the *satum* or unit

[1] In plans No. 23–27 of Palestine Exploration Fund, and Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, $\frac{1}{500}$.

[2] "Edinburgh Review," No. 279, p. 28.

[3] Le Talmud de Babylon. Par l'Abbé Chiarini, p. 224. [4] Ezech. xl, 5.

of area, of 50 *cubits* square, was taken from the size of the Court of the Tabernacle, which covered two *sata* of ground.[1] Three *sata* form a *zemeed;* and 30 *sata*, a *kor*, the largest land measure mentioned in the Talmud, which contained 3·06 English acres.

The Priests' Court of the Temple (including the Court of the Holy House itself) covered, according to the dimensions given in the Book of Ezechiel, eight *sata*, or four times the area of the Court of the Tabernacle. The second Court, within the *druphactos*, of 500 cubits on a side, as stated in the Mishna, covered 100 *sata*. The fortress wall, according to the Ordnance plans, enclosed an area of 100 *kori*, measured by the 104-inch reed.[2]

The oblation of land, mentioned in the same prophetic book, was composed of 100,000 *kori*, destined to the support of the Temple; an equal area allotted to that of the Priests; and 50,000 *kori* attributed to the Prince. The total area of a quarter of a million of *kori*[3] amounts to rather less than a tenth part of Palestine, if we reckon the district east of Jordan as equal to half the area of Judea. Thus this hitherto obscure passage, which has been the stumbling block of theologians, indicates the plan of a commutation of tithe for glebe; or is, at all events, in accordance with such a substitution.

The *satum* and the *kor* recur as measures of capacity. The only direct measurement, in linear terms, of a unit of capacity, is that given by Maimonides; in which, however, he uses the *pollex*, which is an undetermined width. We are thus driven back to the standard of verification, the egg.[4] A series of measurements of full-sized hen's eggs, gives a capacity of 4 *cubic inches*, as an average. This is very rarely exceeded by as much as five per cent. There is an obvious convenience in adopting so simple a unit of capacity. We shall return to the check upon this determination which is afforded by weight. Taking the egg at 4 *inches*, the *log* or twelfth part of the *hin*, contains 24 *cubit inches*.

[1] De Anno Septimo, 1, 3. Baba Bathra, vii, 1.
[2] Ezech. xlii, 20, cf. Middoth, ii, 1. Ordnance Survey, $\frac{1}{3\,5\,0}$.
[3] Ezech. xlv, 1.
[4] De Angulo, i, 6.

The *hin*, 288 (or 1·0198 gallons); and the *epha*, as a dry measure, and the *bath*, the equivalent liquid measure, exactly a cubic foot. Thus the *kor*, as a measure of capacity, is the equivalent of ten cubic English feet, or ·993 of a *quarter*.

We thus arrive at the consideration of the system of weight.

The inquiry here becomes simple. It is clear from the Book of Exodus,[1] that the shekel or unit of weight there employed, was the 3000th part of a larger dimension, called the *ciccar;* which we usually translate *talent*. And it is deducible from the Mishna, and is plainly stated by Maimonides[2] that the shekel itself was of the weight of 320 *grains* of barley.

If we repeat, as to the weight of the barley-corn, the investigation before entered on as to its length, we arrive at a corresponding result. The full-weight barley-corn of the present day, weighed in the time of harvest, is still the equivalent of the troy grain.

Nor is monumental verification absent. The Hebrew talent, according to the Bible and the Mishna, weighed 960,000 grains. A Babylonian talent, at the British Museum (the individual out of twenty-three specimens of weights which is in the most perfect condition), actually weighs 959,040 *troy grains;*[3] or within one *per mille* of the proper weight.

I am unaware of any valid reason for concluding that there were different talents, considered as weights, for gold, silver, and copper. A single passage of Josephus has been relied on as indicating that such was the case. But the statements of this great historian, as now found in the text, as to numbers, are so self-contradictory that they have no critical value. Analogy would point out that if any difference of system really existed, the more precious metals would be measured by the smaller, and not by the larger scale. But the gold pieces mentioned in the Bible are usually spoken of simply as *aurei*, and reckoned by tale.[4] In one or two places the expression "golden shekel" is em-

[1] Exod. xxxviii, 25.
[2] Constit. De Siclis, 1, 2.
[3] Madden's Jewish Coinage, p. 260.
[4] Judges viii, 26.

ployed in the Bible;[1] in one or two places the "golden *denarius*" is mentioned in the Talmud; where it is stated to be of the value of 25 silver *dinars*.[2] This would make the *aureus*, before the Captivity, to weigh $106\frac{2}{3}$ grains troy, the coin being almost exactly the same size of the *garmes*, or sixth part of the shekel.

As to the introduction of a new silver unit, the "sela," of 384 grains weight, or one-fifth more than the shekel, after the Captivity; the relation of that coin to the Persian daric; the relation of the systems of gold, silver, and copper coins, both on the shekel and sela system; the legalisation, late in the course of history, of the half-righia, or three-eighth part of a shekel, for the annual Temple tax; the actual existence, in the Sicilian currency, of the equivalents of the shekel, the beka, the sela, and the maah; and the identification of the existing Jewish coins,—I propose to make a detailed communication at a future time to the Society.

I return to the verification of the measures of capacity by weight. Rabbi David,[3] the sixth from Maimonides, in his comment on the determinations given by that writer, states the weight of the *quartarius*, or quarter *log*, of water, at twenty-five drachms. If these are the drachms of the apothecary, the log measure should contain 6,000 troy grains of water. Twenty-four cubic inches of water, at the temperature of 113° Fahrenheit, weigh 6,000 troy grains. This temperature is within two degrees of the mean of boiling[4] and freezing water. The calculation considers the water to be pure. If the water of the Euphrates or the Nile were employed, it is possible that the result would be yet more accurate. But as it is, it is so close as to leave little room for doubt that the ancient measures of capacity were linked to those of linear magnitude in the mode I have described.

We have thus seen what were the units of the systems of ancient Hebrew measures in length, in area, in capacity, and in weight. We have determined the actual value of each of these units in dimensions of the English scale; and

[1] Genesis xxiv, 22. [2] Ketuba ii, 2. [3] Tract Peah, 3, 6.

[4] The mean arrived at by mixture of equal *weights* is 122°. That obtained by mixture of equal *bulks* is 111·1.

we have indicated the relation existing between length, capacity, and weight.

It remains to speak of the tabulation, or system of division into aliquot parts, that was common to all the dimensions.

Each unit, or primary division, appears to have been divided by two, by three, and by five. Subdivision, chiefly by two, was also carried to a very minute extent. In every denomination there exists a corresponding unit, which would at once take its rank as the basis of the scale, but for the fact that it is not a term in the quinary or denary divisions. It is not the *satum* which is divided into ten parts but the *æpha* or 3 *sata*. The *æpha* is both divided and multiplied by ten; the smaller dimension being the *omer*, and the larger the *korus*.

This larger dimension we find under the same name in measures of capacity and of area. The *korus* of 30 *sata* is a land measure; the *korus* of 30 *sata* is a measure of capacity; the *tirtemar* or *manch* is a weight of 30 shekels. The half *libra*, in Roman measures, is equal to 10 *solidi* or 120 *denarii*. The *æpha* and the *solidus* are the only two names known as those equivalents in the scale, but they form members of a symmetric system.

The division of the second dimension, *cubit*, *satum*, or *siclus*, by 6, is a feature of all the Hebrew scales. It does not occur in the Roman or Sicilian systems.

The correspondence of the other aliquot parts of each unit of dimension can be seen from the annexed table.

Tables of Hebrew and Chaldean Measures.

LONG MEASURE.

2 Barley Corns	Digit	$\frac{2}{3}$ Inches
8 „ „	Palm	$2\frac{2}{3}$ „
40 „ „	Artificers' Cubit	$13\frac{1}{3}$ „
48 „ „	Land Cubit	16 „
52 „ „	Sacred Cubit	$17\frac{1}{3}$ „

SQUARE MEASURE.

104·15	Cubits	Rebah	20·5	Sq. Yds.
416·6	„	Cabus	2·67	Poles
2,500	„	Satum	16·32	„
7,500	„	Zemeed	·306	Acre
75,000	„	Kor	3·06	„

CUBIC MEASURE.

24	Cubic Inches	Log	·675	Pint
96	„ „	Cabus	·675	Quart
288	„ „	Hin	1·0128	Gallon
576	„ „	Satum	2·0385	„
1,728	„ „	Ephah	6·2355	„
172·8	„ „	Omer	2·494	Quart
17,280	„ „	Kor	·993	Quarter

SHEKEL SYSTEM.—SILVER.

Weight.			
40	Troy Grains	Octave	
$53\frac{1}{3}$	„ „	Garnes	
80	„ „	Zuza	
120	„ „	Half Righia	
160	„ „	Beka	Half Ducat
240	„ „	Righia	
320	„ „	Shekel	Ducat (Neapolitan)

SELA SYSTEM.—SILVER.

Weight.			
48	Troy Grains	Octave	
64	„ „	Garnes	
96	„ „	Dinar	
144	„ „	Half Righia	
192	„ „	Thebah	Six-Carlino Piece
288	„ „	Righia	
384	„ „	Sela	Piastre (Neapolitan)

SELA SYSTEM.— COPPER.

Weight.			
About	20	Troy Grains	Prutha
„	$53\frac{1}{3}$	„	Shemun
„	$106\frac{2}{3}$	„	Hanitz
„	$213\frac{1}{3}$	„	Hadres
„	40	„	Kontrinek
„	80	„	Musmes
„	160	„	Assarion
„	320	„	Pondion
„	640	„	Asper

The traces of these ancient systems are to be found in the irregularity of our various tables of dimension.

In linear measure the foot has proved a more convenient measure than the cubit, but has preserved its commensurate relation, and its natural base of the barley-corn.

In capacity, the gallon is very closely approximate to the *hin*. But the exactitude of relation between linear and cubic measures has been lost.

In weight, we preserve the grains; and the same relation exists between the shekel and troy ounce that obtains between the foot and cubit. The diamond carat is a member of the same system of weight, being the 100th part of the shekel, and the 150th part of the ounce troy. The ducat is still divided into 100 *grani*, which are the equivalents of the carat.

To the influence of the Phœnician system of natural division, crossed and compounded with the Roman, we thus appear to owe the complex irregularity of our various metrical tables.

The position of the penny and the shilling, the representatives of the denarius and the solidus, is indicated in the annexed table.

	Linear.	*Square.*	*Dry.*	*Liquid.*	*Silver.*	*Copper.*	*Roman.*	*Sicilian.*
A 1	....	Korus	Korus	Korus	Tirtemar	....	Half Libra	
B 1	....	....	Epha	....	....	....	Solidus	
2	Cubit	Satum	Satum	Satum	Siclus	Asper	....	Ducat
3	Sit	....	Tarcab	Hin	Beka	Pondion	....	Half Ducat
4	....	....	....	Half-Hin	Zuza	Assarion	Denarius ...	
5	Tupah	Cabus	Cabus	Cabus	Garmes	Hanits		
6	Digit	Quartarius	Quadrans....	Log	Maah	Prutha		
C 1	....	Zemeed	Omer	....	....	....	....	Three Carlini
2	....	... .	....	....	....	....	....	Carlino
3	....	....	....	....	Gora	....	Sestertius	Five-Grain Piece

A TABLET IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, RELATING APPARENTLY TO THE DELUGE.

Translated by H. F. Talbot, F.R.S.

Read 6th July, 1875.

This tablet, of which the beginning and end are lost, describes a Panic Terror which seized mankind and all animals at a time when some great calamity was impending over the world. I think it may have been the visible approach of the Deluge: but other calamities may have happened in the earliest ages of which we have no record.

This tablet has been lithographed in plate 27 of the fourth volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia. It has not been previously translated to my knowledge. Several lines at the beginning of the tablet are broken and illegible. Afterwards it proceeds as follows :—

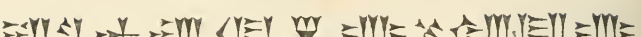
1. One man ran to another.
2. The girl ascended to her topmost story.
3. The man ran forth from the house of his friend.
4. The son fled from the house of his father.
5. The doves flew away from their dove-cote.
6. The eagle soared up from his eyrie.
7. The swallows flew from their nests.
8. The oxen and the sheep fell prostrate on the earth.
9. It was the great day. The Spirits of Evil were assembled.

The remainder of the story with the exception of a few words is broken off.

I will now give the cuneiform text.

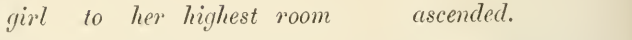
1.

mata	ana	mati	ittanallaku
man	*unto*	*man*	*ran*

2. 

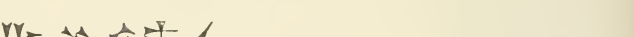
ardata anta ki sha usillu

the girl to her highest room ascended.

3. 

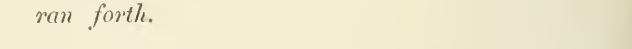
itla as bit eburi - sa

the man from the house of his friend



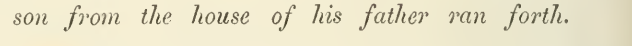
usitzu

ran forth.

4. 

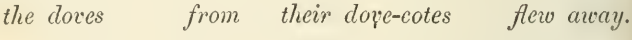
mara as bit abi-su usitzu

the son from the house of his father ran forth.

5. 

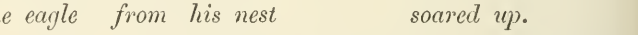
Zunmati as apati - sin imasru

the doves from their dove-cotes flew away.

6. 

itzuru as apri-su usillu

the eagle from his nest soared up.

7. 

sinunta as kinni - sa usiprasu

the swallows from their nests flew away.

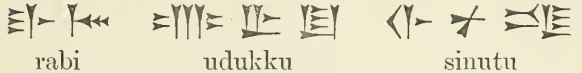
8.

alpi isibbithu immira

the oxen fell prostrate the sheep

isibbithu

fell prostrate

9. 

tami rabi udukku sinutu

(*it was*) *the great time:* *the Spirits* *of Evil*

zaidu - sun.

were assembled.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

Usillu, S conjugation of Heb. עלה to ascend.

Itla is properly a man of distinction: a gentleman.

Ebur, a friend: is exactly the Heb. חבר amicus.

Zummati, doves. This word occurs rather frequently. In 4 R 29, line 56, we read *kima zummati adammum*, "I mourned like a dove." This bears an interesting resemblance to the words of Isaiah, ch. xxxviii, 14: "I did mourn as a dove"; and ch. lix, 11: "We mourn sore like doves." Compare Nahum ii, 8.

Imasru should perhaps be read *iparru*, the sign being ambiguous.

Sinunta, the swallows. Chald. סנונית *hirundo*. Buxtorf p. 1517.

Usiprasu, S conjugation of *paras* to fly.

Isibbithu. This verb is somewhat doubtful: it may be a conjugation of הבט prostravit.

Zaidu "they united," occurs in the same sense elsewhere: it may be the Arabic *zud* or *zid* 'adjunxit': see Schindler, p. 472. We might, however, translate (using another meaning of the same verb) "the evil spirits rose up impiously, or arrogantly."

ON AN EARLY CHALDEAN INSCRIPTION.

By W. Boscawen.

Read 6th July, 1875.

The most important portion of this inscription was discovered by Mr. George Smith during his last expedition to Koyunjik, a fragment of it being already in the Museum and lithographed in W.A.I. II, 38. Mr. Smith has given a translation of a portion of the inscription in his work on Assyrian discoveries. The inscription is marked S 27.

The inscription in our possession is written in Assyrian and is a translation of the ancient Accadian text of the king, probably preserved in one of the Chaldean libraries. The colophon states that it was copied for Assurbanipal and placed in his palace.

The inscription is important as supplying us with the names of five new Chaldean kings, and also for the great light it throws on the religious feeling and ritual of the early Babylonians.

The inscription gives the names of the following persons as kings of *Babylonia*:—

Ummiah-ziriti.
Agu-ragas.
Abi . . . . . .
Tassigurumas.
Agu kāk rimi.

These monarchs appear to form a dynasty, or at least the opening of one, and they appear also to have succeeded one another from father to son.

An examination of these names appears to show that they are those of *Kassite* or *Elamite* persons. The first of the names Agu-ka-ak-ri-mi, probably means the "Moon makes our brilliance." The first portion of the name, Agu, being the name of the Moon-god, an element of very frequent occurrence in the early Chaldean names. The second portion -ka-ak=kāk, is a very common *Accadian* verb, usually written in an ideographic form, , and corresponding to the *Assyrian bani* to create; this verb in its Assyrian form is an element in the name of Assur-bani () pal.

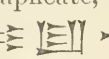
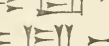
The last portion of the name is somewhat difficult. It is apparently composed of a noun and a possessive pronoun, being the *Accadian* possessive pronoun of the first person plural; is rendered in Assyrian in W.A.I. II, 48, by na-ba-dhu, brilliance; so that the two signs RI. MI. read as "*our brilliance.*" The whole name apparently meaning, "The Moon makes our brilliance."

The name of the fourth monarch in the list is written , and may be read Aqū ra-bī, and this reading is the one adopted by Mr. Smith in his translation, and on etymological grounds it is no doubt correct. But it seems to me that the final *i* is an error of the scribes, and that the more correct reading would be RAK KAS, or, the name being Kassite or Elamite, a in place of the GAS.

Ra gas or *Ra kas* is a common verb in Elamite and in the Kassite, and has the signification of *to beget*, or *bear*, being connected with the noun Rak, a female.

It appears to me that the scribe who rendered the text into *Assyrian* had but a slight knowledge of *Accadian*, and as the original text probably had the simple termination , he added a final in transliterating the name into *Assyrian*, through the error of reading *ra-bi*. As the name is written, the reading Agu-ra-bi-i is no doubt correct but it appears to me that the error is the scribe's.

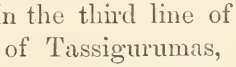
It must be noticed here that in no case is final added in the name Kham muragas; and

in a bilingual list of *Kassite* kings in W.A.I. II, 65, which can be restored from a duplicate, we have this name rendered by Sa-am-si-i tib-na, the latter part of the name  , *itibna*, being from the verb *bani* to create, which leaves little doubt of the reading here being  *ragas* or *rakas*.

Of the other names we can say but little, they evidently are those of Kassite or Elamite persons. The *Ummah* in *Ummah* may be the name of the Elamite deity of that name. The second name is imperfect.

In the third line of Col. I, the king speaks of himself as son of Tassigurumas, of the noble seed of Suqamuna— zir eluv sa *Suqamuna;* in this it appears to me we have another proof of the Kassite origin of these persons.

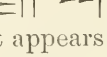
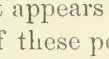
Now *Suqamuna* is identified with the Kassite deity *Sumu*, for in the bilingual list in W.A.I. II, 65, we have—



Mu- li - su - um Anil Su - qa - mu - na

Mili is the Kassite term for man—compare the Accadian *mulu*. The name, therefore, means "Man of Sumu." In the same list we have also *Mili-kit*, rendered by *Amil-Shamas*, or "Man of the Sun-god."

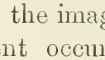
From this it seems to me that the king *Agu*, in speaking of himself as of the "Noble seed of Suqamuna" (Sumu), was claiming for himself descent from the gods; a custom of frequent occurrence in the genealogies of kings, and in this it seems that he has furnished a clue to his nation.

In his enumeration of his dominions this monarch Agu calls himself king of the  Kas-si-i, the Cassidim of the Bible; king of the Accadi, or Highlanders, and, king  Mat Babilu-rapastuv, "King of the vast land of Babylonia."

In lines 34-5 the king calls himself "colonizer (musesib) of the vast land of Asnunnak." This land is quite new, and

I have not met with the name in any of the inscriptions. The king calls himself king of *Padan* or the Plain; king of *Alman*; and king of the *Guti* or *Goïm*, a collection of tribes in the north of Elam, the old home of the *Accadi*.

Of the position of these monarchs in the canon of Babylonian kings it is as yet impossible to say anything; future excavations may bring to light more texts which will enable us to do so.

From the inscription it appears that the images of Marduk and Zirat-panit, his consort, had been carried off to the land of  Kha-ni-i: this land is not, that I am aware of, mentioned in any of the Babylonian or Assyrian texts.[1] This custom of carrying off the images of the gods of conquered nations was of frequent occurrence, both in *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* wars. The image of the goddess Nana was carried off to Elam during an Elamite invasion, and restored by Assurbanipal 1635 years after, he in his turn carrying off the Elamite deities. This explains the desire of the Israelites to take the Ark into battle, a desire caused by seeing the importance attached to the presence of the sacred images by the nations around.[2] The taunt of Rabshak to the messengers, —as to the gods of the nation not being able to stand against the Assyrians—is explained by this custom of carrying off the images of the gods of conquered nations. Agu sent an expedition under an official named Saru-Samas to recover these images, and to bring them back to Babylon. The embassy was successful, and the gods were restored to the temple of *Bit-Saggadhu*.

The temple of *Bit-Saggadhu* at Babylon was one of the most important of the Babylonian temples; it formed, as its name indicates, the acropolis of the city.[3] It was the famous temple of Bel or Marduk. The date of the building of the great national temple is lost in the dim azure of antiquity;

[1] See page 154.

[2] Compare also Hosea x, 6; Jeremiah xliii, 12; and Baruch or Ep. Jeremy.

[3] Sag-gadhu is explained in W.A.I. II, by nasu-sa-risi, or "raising of the head."

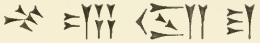
this king Agu only speaks of restoring it, it had been built before his time. It is this great temple of which Herodotus gives such an elaborate description, and to which the prophet Daniel refers to in "*Bel* and the *Dragon*."

There is in the British Museum a small bilingual fragment which appears to refer to the building of this temple. As the identity of the temple depends on the variant reading of the *Assyrian* and *Accadian* in lines 3 and 4, I will give both. They are—

Accadian—

ca - abzu - ta e - ki - aka - ge - a - ni

in the gate of the deep a house of his delight



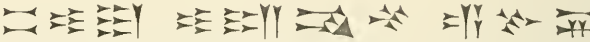
mu - un - di -ma

I raised it.

Assyrian—

[Bit - sag - ga - dhu ma ba - ab ab - si - i

Bitsaggadhu in the gate of the deep



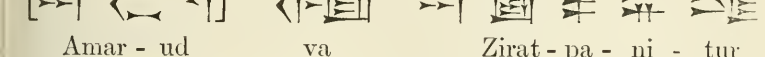
bi - i - tu i - ra - am - mu e - pu us

a house of delight (illumination) I made.

This inscription states that the king, whose name is unfortunately lost, established the temple and appointed music and services, and raised an altar to the gods Marduk and Zirat-panit.[1]

[1] See Appendix.

We read—



Amar - ud va Zirat - pa - ni - tur

Marduk *and* *Zirat-panit*

pa-rac- ka el - lu ra - mu - u

an altar *noble* *and high*

Samas itibna repaired this temple and placed *cherubim* and figures of Marduk of gold in it, and we find contract tablets dated in the year that Samas itibna placed these images in the temple of Bit-Saggadhu.[1]

All the later Babylonian kings, Nabuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, &c., added to or adorned it, and even the Persian kings repaired it; for on a brick of Cyrus, translated by Mr. Smith, we read, "Cyrus . . . . . who the temples of Bit-Saggadhu and Bit Zida repaired." It was to this temple probably that Alexander the Great was conducted by the Babylonian priests. When we think that, perhaps three thousand years before the Christian era, sacrifices were daily offered, and music and prayer made before the images of Marduk and his Queen in this sacred fane of Babylonia, how young and modern seem the temples of Greece and Rome, and even the sacred edifice of Jerusalem, sacred to the One True God, seems but a relic of the middle ages, compared with this patriarch of temples.

The king Agu states that he restored the shrine (*as-rat*) of Marduk and Zirat-panit, and adorned the images with horned crowns and robes of rich material, inlayed and studded with jewels. He also states that he restored the , papakhat, of Marduk and his Queen—this was probably the topmost story of the pile. The *Zuggurats* or temple towers of Babylonia appear to have been built in heights of three, five, or seven stages, and the top one

[1] See Mr. Smith on Early Hist. of Babylonia, Trans. Soc. Bib., vol. I, part 1 : and Appendix.

usually contained the shrine proper, or *papakhat*, of the deity. This shrine was built of the richest possible material, and in it were the images of the gods. The king Agu states that he made doors of cedar-wood, and a throne, and a seat for the "*papakhat*" of these gods.

The last columns of the inscription contain prayers made by the priests for the well-being of the king, both in this and in the next world.

These prayers are most important, in the light they throw on the fact of the belief of the *Accadians* in the immortality of the soul, or at least in a future state. The priest prays that "he (the king) may behold the highest heaven," and that "Anu and Anunitu may be propitious to him in heaven," and that "Bel and Beltis may cause him to dwell in the land of life." The gods are desired to endow the king with various virtues and blessings: Hea to make him wise, &c. In conclusion, I must express the hope that the time may not be far distant when we shall read the inscriptions of this and many other of the early Chaldean kings, not as now through the medium of Assyrian translations, but that we may have in our possession accurate Accadian copies, if not the original texts themselves.

Owing to the ideographic nature of the cuneiform writing the reading of proper names is one of the greatest difficulties the student has to contend with. I must therefore state my attempt at their explanation must be received only as conjectural. I hope, however, others may be induced to examine them, as the dynasty or line of kings mentioned here is evidently both powerful and important.

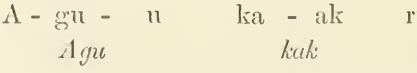
The text is as follows:—

S 27.

1.

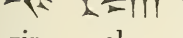
A - gu - u ka - ak ri - mi

Agu *kak* *rimi*

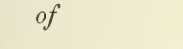
2. 

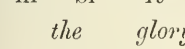
ablu Tas - si - gu - ru - mas

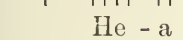
son *of* *Tassigurumas*

3. 
zir el - luv
the noble. Seed

4.
sa Su - qa - mu - nu
of Sugamuna

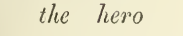
5. 
ni - bi - it A - nuv u Bel - u
the glory of Anu and Bel

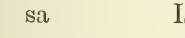
6. 
He - a u Amar-ud
Hea and Marduk

7. 
Sin Shamas
Sin (the Moon) Shamas (Sun)

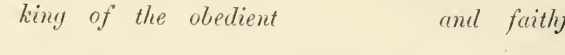
8.
id - luv da - an - nu
the hero powerful

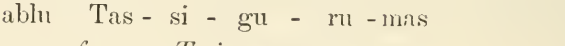
9.
sa Is - tar ga - sit - ti
of Istar archer

10. 
i - la - a - ti a - na - cu
of the goddesses. I (am)

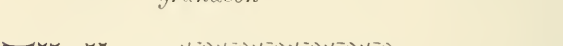
11. 
sar mi - ci u ta sim - ti
king of kings and princes

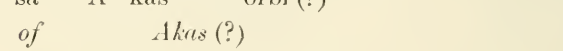
12.
sar - tas - mi - e sa - li - mi
king of the obedient *and faithful*

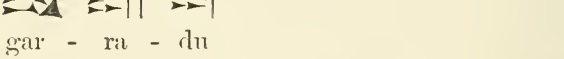
13. 
abbu Tas - si - gu - ru - mas
son of *Tasi-gurumas*

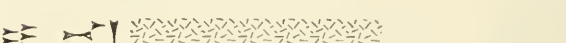
14. 
li - ib - li - ib
grandson

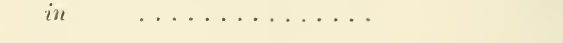
15.
sa A - kas - orbi (?)
of *Akas* (?)

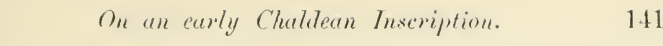
16. 
gar - ra - du
the warrior

17. 
i - na . . . . . .
in . . . . . .

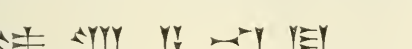
18. 
maru . . . . . .
offspring . . . . . .

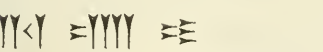
19. 
sa A - gu - um - ra - kas - i
of *Agu* *ragas* or *rabi*

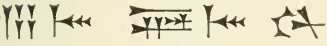
20. 
Tir el - luv zir - saru - ti
the *noble* *and royal seed*

21. 
sa Um - mi - ah - zir - ri - ti
of *Ummah-ziriti*

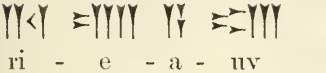
22.

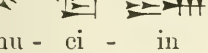
23. 
car (?) ru a - na - cu
. . . . . *I am*

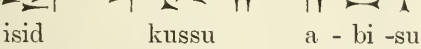
24. 
ri - e - i
the shepherd

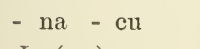
25. 
nisi - rapsu - tiv
of a vast people

26.
gar - ra - du
the warrior

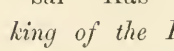
27. 
ri - e - a - uv
shepherd

28. 
mu - ci - in
establisher

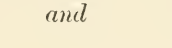
29. 
isid kussu a - bi -su
of the foundation of the throne of his fathers

30. 
a - na - cu
I (am)

31.
sar Kas - si - i
king of the Kassi

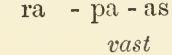
32. 
va Ak - ka - di - i
and *Accadi*

33.
sar -mat Bab - ilu
king of the land of Babylonia

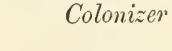
34. 
ra - pa - as - tiv
vast

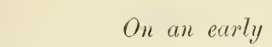
35.
Mu - se - si - ib
Colonizer

36.
mat As - nun - na - ak nisi
of the land of Asnunnak *a people*

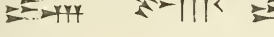
37. 
rapsu - tiv sar mat Pa - da - an
vast *king of* *Padan*

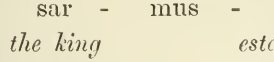
38.
Al -ma- an sar mat Gu - ti - i
Alman *king of* *Gutium (Goïm)*

39. 
nisi sak - la - a - ti (?)
a people . . . . . .

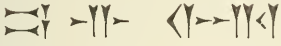
40. 
sar - mus - ta - as - kin
the king *establisher*

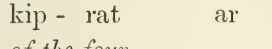
41.
kip - rat ar - ba - ah - i
of the four *regions*

42. 
mi - cir Dingir - gal - gal - la (ili rabati)
worshipper *of the great gods*

43. 
i - nu Amarud
Lo! *Marduk*

44.
saru Bit - Sag - ga - dhu
king of *Bit-Saggadhu*

45. 
. . . . . Babilu
. . . . . *Babylon*

46. 
dingir gal - gal - la (ili rabati)
The great gods

47.
pi - i - su - nu - El - lim
their *noble* *mouths.*

48.
ta - ai - ar su ig - bu - u
his *return* *ordered*

49.
Amarud ana Din- tir - ki
Marduk *to* *Babylon*

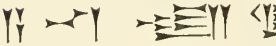
50.
pa - ni - su is - ku - na
his face *set*

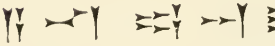
51.
Amarud .....
Marduk .....

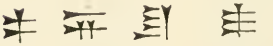
52.
..... ai
..... *not*

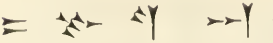
Column II.

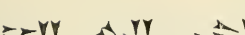
1.
ac - gal - ut at - ta - id - va
..... *I glorified*

2. 
a - na li - ki - e Amarud
to *take* *Marduk*

3. 
a - na Babilu
to *Babylon*

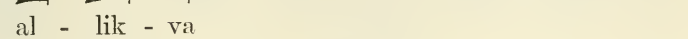
4. 
pa - ni - su as - cun - va
his face *I set and*

5. 
ta - bu - ut Amarud
in the paths *of Marduk*

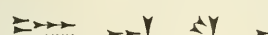
6. 
ra - im pal - e - a
lover *of my life*

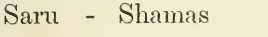
7.
al - lik - va
I walked and

8.
Saru - Shamas

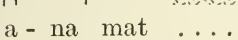
9. 
a - na mat ..... a - na - mat Kha- ni - i
to ..... *to the land of Khani*

10.
lu - u - as - pur - va su Amarud
I sent *and* *him* *Marduk*

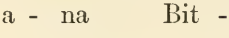
11. 
va Zirat - pa - ni - tu
and *Zirat-panit*

12. 
lu is - ba - tu - niv - va
they had taken hold of and

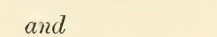
13.
Amar- ud va Zirat - pa - ni - tu
Marduk *and* *Zirat-panit*

14. 
ra - im pal - e - a
lovers *of my reign*

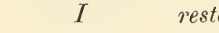
15.
a - na Bit - Sag - ga - dhu
to *Bit - Saggadhu*

16. 
va Bab - ilu
and *Babylon*

17.
lu - u - tir su - nu - ti
I *restored* *them*

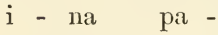
18. 
i - na Bit - sa - Samas
in *the temple of the Sun*

19.
i - na pa - ra - ats arcu
for *the division* *of the future*

20. 
u - kin - na
I fixed.

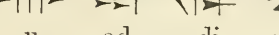
The next two lines are damaged; the inscription again is perfect at line 23.

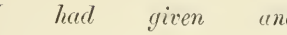
23.
irba - tik - un (bilati)
four *talents*

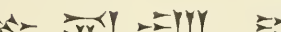
24. 
a - na lu - bu - us - ti
for *the* *robes*

25.
Amar - ud va Zirat - pa - ni - tu
Marduk *and* *Zirat-panit*

26.
lu - u - ad - di - nu va
I had given and

27. 
lu - bu - us - ta ra - bi - ta
a dress large (ample)

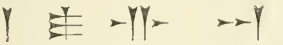
28. 
lu - bu - us khuras - dir
a dress of gold and blue

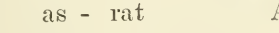
29. 
Amar - ud va Zirat - pa - ni - tu
Marduk and Zirat-panit

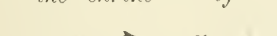
30.
lu - u - lab - bi - kin(?) su - nu - ti - va
I had clothed (?) them and

The next five lines consist of the enumeration of precious stones which were given to adorn the gods. They are hard to identify, so I have omitted them; they are printed in W.A.I. II, 38, Col. II.

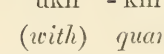
These stones—

35. 
a - na as - rat Amar - ud
to the shrine of Marduk

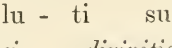
36. 
va - Zirat - pa - ni - tu
and Zirat-panit

37. 
lu - ad - di - nu - va
I had given

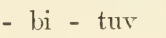
38.
mu - ukh - khi lu - bu - us - ti
(with) quantities of robes

39. 
i - lu - ti su - nu
their divinities

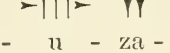
40.
ra - bi - tuv
great

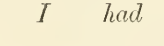
41. 
lu - u - za - ah - i - nu
I had adorned

42.
a - gi - e ga - ar - ni
crowns horned

43. 
zi - ra - a - ti
lofty

44.
a - gi - e bi - lu - ti
crowns of divinity

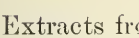
45. 
si - mat i - lu - ti
an image of divinity

46. 
sa sa - lum - ma - ti
of perfection

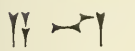
47.
ma - la - ti
full

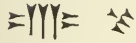
Extracts from III, IV, V, VI will be given at the end. Columns VII and VIII, being more perfect, they are now given.

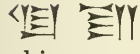
COLUMN VII.

1. 
Amarud
Marduk

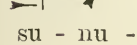
2.
a - na - sub - ti - su
to his throne

3. 
u - se - ri - ib
I caused to enter

4. 
ki - sa - a - tuv
a band

5. 
abli um - ma - ni
of sons of the people

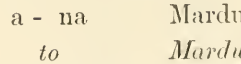
6.
su - nu - ti
them

7. 
ca - du bit ecil ul - tu
. . . . . *the house and field* . . . . . .

8.

a - na Marduk

to Marduk

9. 

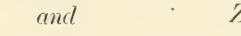
va Zirat - pa - ni - tu

and Zirat - panit

10.

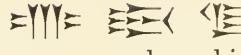
u - zak - ki - su - nu - ti

I dedicated them

11. 

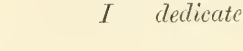
sa - sar A - gu - ū

of the king Agu.

12. 

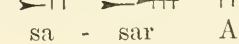
immi -su lu - ar - cu

his days may they be long

13. 

sanati -su li - ri - ka

his years may they be extended

14. 

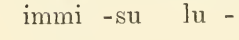
palu -su ina dum - ci

his life in bliss

15.

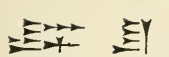
lu - bu - ul - lu udh

may he live

16. 

zi - ri it same.

the summit of heaven

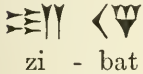
17. 
rap - su - ti
vast

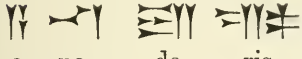
18.
bi - ib - bi - ta - su
may he behold it

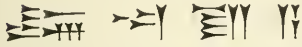
19.

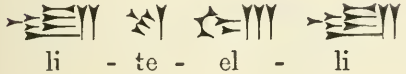
The inscription here is broken for several lines.

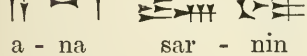
25.
ilu .....
the god .....

26. 
zi - bat
spreading

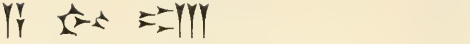
27. 
a - na da - ris
for ever

28. 
in - ba - sa - a
(*may*) *he exist* (?)

29. 
li - te - el - li
may he exalt

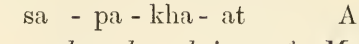
30. 
a - na sar - nin
to the lordly king

31.
A - gu - um
Agu

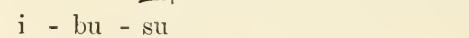
32. 
sa - pa - kha - at Amarud
who the shrine of Marduk

33.
i - bu - su
has made

34.
abli- um - ma ni
sons of the people

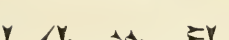
35. 
u - zak - cu u
has dedicated

36.
A - nu u Anatu
Anu and Anatu

37. 
ina - same lik - ru - bu - su
in heaven may they be favourable to him.

38.
Bel - u u Bilatu
Bel and Beltis

39.
ina Bit - u mat- ti - la
in the house and the land of life

40. 

u - si - bu - su

may they seat him

41.

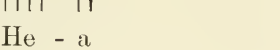
He - a

Hea

42.

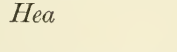
u Dav - ki - na

and Dav-kina

43. 

a - si - ib abzu - gal

dwelling in the great deep

44. 

ti - la immi

a life of days

45.

bu - da

long

46.

lad - di - nu - su

may they give him

47.

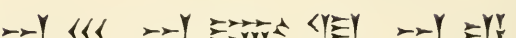
Tzira Bil - lat mat gal - gal

Tzira lady the great land.

Column VIII.

1.
mu - el - qa
greatness

2.
li - sak - lil
may he complete.

3. 
Sin uru - ki same
the Moon illuminator of heaven

4.
mu - gal sar abu
revolver the king paternal

5.
a - na immi bu - da
for days long

6.
lad - di - is
may grant him

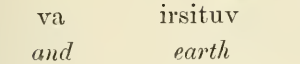
7.
id - luv Samas
the prince the Sun

8.
e - bil same
ruler heaven

9.

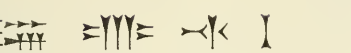
va irsituv

and earth

10. 

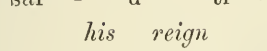
sar - u - ti - su

his reign

11. 

a - na immi bu - da

for many days

12. 

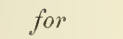
li - ki - in

may he establish.

13.

He - a

Hea

14. 

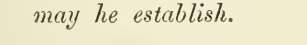
Bil labiru

the old lord

15.

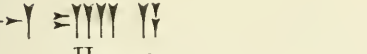
ni - mi - gav

wisdom

16. 

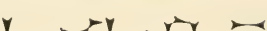
li - sak - lil - su

may be complete for him

17. 

Amar ud ra - im pal - su

Marduk lover of his reign

18. 
Bil - el na - ak - bi
Lord *of* *fountains*

19.
i - gal - la - su
his fertility

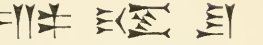
20.
u - sak - lil - su
may be complete for him

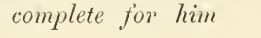
Notes.

Col. I.

LINE

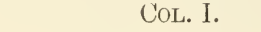
3. ziru, seed or race. Heb. זרע

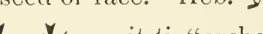
9.  ga-sit-ti, "archer," a title of the goddess Istar. She appears as such in the vision of *Assur-banipal.* See W.A.I. III, pl. 32, 16, &c. Heb. קַשָּׁת

10.  ilati, a rare word, feminine genitive plural of *ilu.*

11. milci: kings, usually used in the Assyrian texts for "petty monarchs." Heb. מלך.

14. lib lib, literally Heart of Hearts. Heb. לבב.

18.  *maru*, offspring: used ideographically, composed of two signs = zakaru = small + us = a male.

27.  ri-e-a-uv, a shepherd; or the word is used in the sense of prince sometimes. Heb. רעה.

28. *Mucin.* Participle from, kinu. Heb. כּוּן to establish.

29. *isid*, foundation. Comp. Heb. יסד beginning. *Kussu*, a seat or throne. Comp. Heb. כּסא.

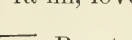
34. *Musesib*, Colonizer, from *Asabu*, to dwell, the Shapael Participle, literally "causer to dwell in." Comp Heb. ישב.

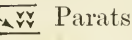
39. *Mustaskin*, establisher. Participle of שכן.

Col. II.

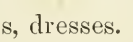
LINE

2. *likie*, take. Heb. לָקַח.

3.  ra-im, lover. Heb. רָחַם

19.  Parats, outlet, or division. Heb. פרץ

24. lubusti, robes, dresses. Heb. לבוש, vestis.

28.  *khuras dir.* The last of these signs has many values, and, among others, those of *adaru*, dark, and also *samu*, blue. The signs may, therefore, be read either *gold and blue*, or *khuras adaru. dark gold;* probably the red Arabian gold.

38. *Mukhkhi*, quantities. Comp. Arab. mi'k-dâr.

42. gārni, horned. Heb. קרן. In the Babylonian a ג often replaces the Assyrian ק.

44. Agie, crowns.

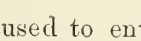
45. *Simat*, an image. Heb. סים.

46. *Salimmati*, perfection. Heb. שלם; *malati*, full, Heb. מלא;—both these words are in the feminine.

49. *Abli ummani*, literally sins of the army or multitude.

Col. VII.

3. *Usirib*, I caused to enter, the Shapael of *eribu* to enter. Heb. ערב.

7. This line is very difficult; the scribe seems to have been unable to render the Accadian original. There are only two words in the line which are clear, these are in Accadian *e*—Assyrian, Bitu, a house—and  *asa*, the Accadian for field or ground, rendered *ecil* in Assyrian. The king appears to be speaking of the land, &c., given to the gods.

LINE

11. palu, has the signification of "time," hence life. *Dumca*, bliss or prosperity; usually written ideographically .

18. *Libbita-su*, may he behold it. Heb. נבט.

28. *libasā*, may he exist, from *basu*, to be. This line is difficult.

36. *Anunitu* was the wife of *Anu*.

37. *likribusu*, may they be propitious; used very frequently in astronomical reports. Heb. קרב.

38.

NOTE.—An abbreviated form of this prayer is found in W.A.I. III, pl. 66, rev. Col. III.

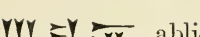
COL. VIII.

3 and 4. These notices of the Moon-god are curious, and indicate the early nature of the inscription. In a hymn to the Moon-god in W.A.I. IV, 9, we have: Abu Nannar beluv ilu dabu Ebil ilani = Father, illuminator, good god, prince of the gods, where is explained by *Na-an-nar*, from *Nuru*, light.

7–12. Another title of the Sun was dian nisi, "judge of men."

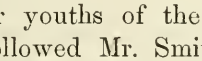
13–17. *Hea* was the lord of wisdom, or depth of mind. Compare Istur tablet, Col. II, line 11.

khani. Mr. Smith has shown me this name in a variant form, kha-na-i, on a broken obelisk of Tiglath-Pileser I. Here it is mentioned in connection with the *Nairi*, the tribes north of Assyria, and it probably is again found in the *Hani-rabbat* of the Tiglath-Pileser cylinder—which is mentioned in connection with Mi-li-dia, the modern Malatiyeh—on the north-west of Assyria.

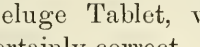
 abli-ummani. I have rendered this, sons of the people, in my translation; but I am inclined to think it here indicates a picked guard of soldiers for the temple, and should be rendered, sons or youths of the army. In my first reading I followed Mr. Smith in the reading given in the Deluge Tablet, where "sons of the people" is certainly correct.

Mr. Sayce has pointed out to me a peculiar indication in the inscription of its Babylonian origin, in the fact of the use of ג in words which in Assyrian take ק, as in—

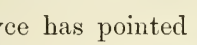
Col. I.

9.  ga-sit-ti. Heb. קֶשֶׁת archer.

Col. II.

42.  ga-ar-ni. Heb. קרן horn.

Col. VIII.

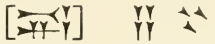
 ni-mi-gar, usually ni-mi-gu = ק

Another mark is the use of *b* for an Assyrian *p*, of which we find examples in the inscription.

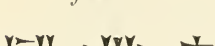
Appendix.

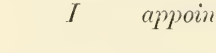
Having been requested by Mr. W. R. Cooper to give the remaining portions of the unpublished columns, I now do so. I have translated them as far as I can, but owing to their broken state no connected translation can be given.

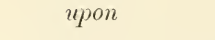
Column III.

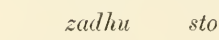
1. 
[abu] - ukin va - khunas
crystal *and* *gold*

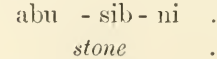
2.
i - na kakkadu - su
for *his* *head*

3. 
lu - u - as - cu - nu - va
I *appointed* *and*

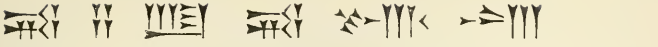
4. 
i - na eli - a - gi - su
upon *his* *crown*

5. 
abu za - dhu - va - zir - cir
zadhu *stone* *and* . . . . . .

6. 
abu - sib - ni . . . . . ti
stone . . . . . .

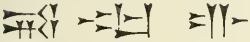
7. 
lu - u - as - cu - nu - va
I *appointed,* *&c.*

8.
abu - za - dhu abu zir - cir
zadhu stone zircir stone

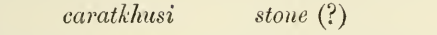
9. 
abu - ca rat - khu - si abu - za .....
caratkhusi stone (?) *stone* .....

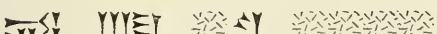
10.
abu - dhu - ud .....
stone .....

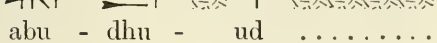
11.
bat - ca a - gi
the opening (?) *of the crown*

12. 
lu - u - za - i - nu
I had adorned

---

13. 
zir - russu a - ru .....

14. 
i - lu - ti [su - nu] .....
their divinities .....

15. 
Khuras. .....
gold .....

16.
Ki .....
Ki .....,

The remainder of Column III is lithographed in W.A.I. II, 38.

COLUMN IV.

This column is so broken that it is of little use to produce it; it relates the ornaments, &c., given by the king to the temple; these appear to be a throne of *cedar*, a couch, and doors of *cedar* to the pa-pa-khat or upper shrine.

COLUMN V.—REVERSE.

1.

. . . .

. . . .

2.

. . . . abu - za [mat] (ukni)

. . . . *crystal*

3.

. . . . gab - si - a . . . .

. . . .

5.

. . . . za samullu - gal

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

9.

dalti - el - li - tuv

noble doors

10.

i - na pa - pa - kha - at

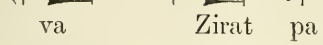
for the shrine

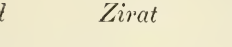
11.

Amar - ud

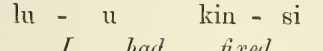
Marduk

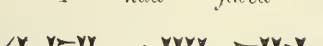
12.
va Zirat pa - ni - tu
and *Zirat* *banit*

13. 
lu - u kin - si - na - ti
I had fixed them (?)

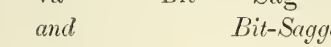
14. 
va Bit - Sag - ga - ahu
and *Bit-Saggadhu*

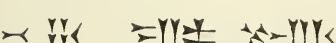
15.
sak zir du - du
. . . . . .

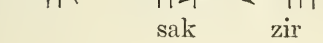
16. 
ta - u - ul - li - lu - ma
. . . . . .

18. 
bi - tu bat - kha zi
the house . . . . . .

19.
. . . . . zu
. . . . . .

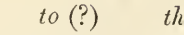
20. 
. . . . . bab - mudi (?)
by (?) *of wisdom* (?)

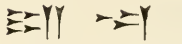
21. 
pa - pa - kha - at Amar - ud
the shrine *Marduk*

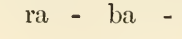
22. 
lu - u - se - rib - su - nu - ti
I caused them to enter

23.
ni - ga - ti su - nu
to (?) *their divinity*

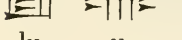
24.
ra - ba - a - ti
great

25. 
lu - u - e bu - us
I made

26. 
Bit (?) e - da - di gan - ic
a house . . . . . .

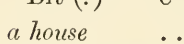
27. 
lu - u - sa ab u . . . .
them . . . .

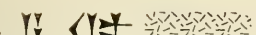
28.
a - na bil ni be - el - ti
to lords and ladies (?)

29. 
ki - sa - at su - nu lu - ad - din
a multitude of them I gave

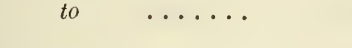
Column VI.

This column is very much broken.

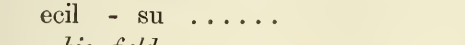
1. 
Nuru - same (?)
the light of heaven (?)

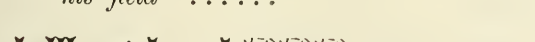
2. 
a - di .....
to .....

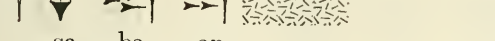
3.
ecil - su .....
his field .....

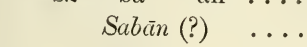
4. 
sa - ba - an .....
Sabān (?) .....[1]

5.
barbar (?) a - luv
.....

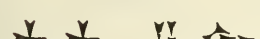
6. 
ecil su ba .....
his field and his plantation (?)

7. 
Amarud mu - pal - tuv (?)
Marduk *mupaltuv*[2]

8. 
a - di bit su ecil su
to his house his field

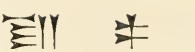
9. 
va D.P. ciru su
and his plantation

---

10. 
a - na sar A - gu - mu
to the king Agu

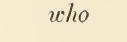
[1] This may be a proper name of the person to whom the lands given had formerly belonged.

[2] Ibid.

11. 

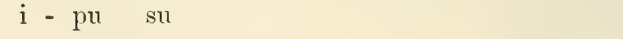
sa pa - pakhat Amarud

who the shrine of Marduk

12. 

i - pu su

he made

13. 

Bit - Sag ga - dhu na - di su

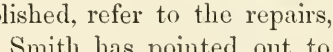
Bit-Saggadhu he restored

The remainder of this column is printed in W.A.I. II, 38.

Texts Relating to the Temple of Bit-Saggdhu at Babylon.

The following texts, some of which are as yet unpublished, refer to the repairs, &c., of this famous temple. Mr. Smith has pointed out to me the fact that the signs were probably read as BIT-SAGGAL; in support of this statement he refers to the opening passage of the inscription on the Nebo statues, in which the god Nebo is spoken of as abil-bit-sag-gil, son of Bit-Saggil, whilst in other inscriptions he is called abil bit sag-ga-dhu.[1]

Some of the earliest references to this temple are found in the bilingual hymns to the gods, a collection of which will appear with the fourth volume of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions."

4. 

e MAKH - TIL - LA e - su

the house of Makh-tilla thy house

[1] The signs has the phonetic value *al* in a new Syllabary.

5.

nu- ah -bi il Bit -Tilla Bit - ca

rest lord of Bit Makh-Tilla thy house

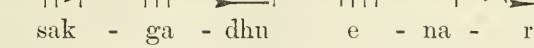
6.

e sak - ga - dhu e - na - ram

the temple of Bit-Saggadhu a house of delight

a - ba .....

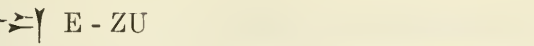
thy house

7. 

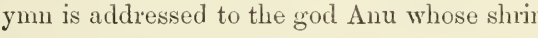
Bit SAG-GADHU bit bi- lu - ti - ca Bit ca

The temple of Saggadhu the house of thy lordship thy house.

This hymn is addressed to the god Anu whose shrine was situated—

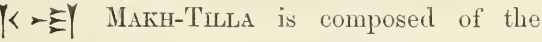
 MAKH-TILLA is composed of the two words *makh*, meaning great, and rendered in Assyrian by *rubu* and *tsiru*, and TILLA, a word meaning high, being equated with the word *accada*, high, the whole meaning the great height.

Another important fragment is the bilingual text of which I have spoken, and which I will now give in full; as I have said before, the name of the king to whom the text refers is unfortunately lost.

4. 

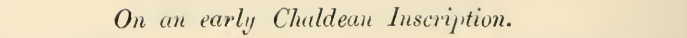
ca - abzu - ta e - ki - acca - ge - a - ni

In the gate of the deep a house of delight



mu - un - dim ni

I made it

5. 

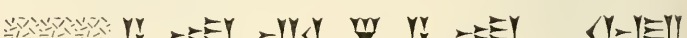
Bit - Sag - ga - dhu ina ba - ab ab - si - i

Bit Saggadhu in the gate of the deep

bi - i - tu sa i - ra - am - mu e - hu - us

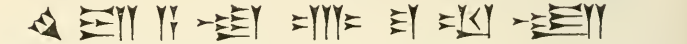
a house of delight he made

The Assyrian of the remainder is—

7. 

. . . . . a - tu - ri - sa - a - tu - va

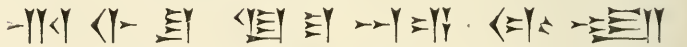
the commencement and



khu - da - a - tu u - ma - al - li

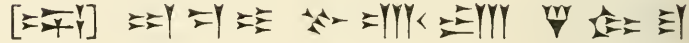
joyfully completed it

Part of this text is Accadian.

8. 

ri - si - su ki - ma same ul - li

its head like heaven shone

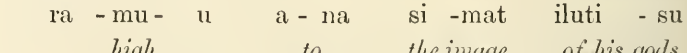
10. 

bab ab - si - i pu - chu - ta sa - lum ma

In the gate of the deep reverence worship

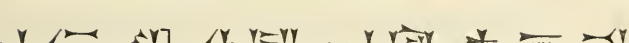
ra - mu - u a - na si - mat iluti - su

high to the image of his gods

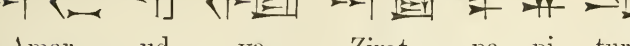


su - lu - ku

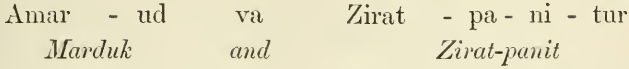
he offered

12. 

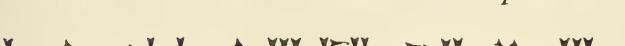
Amar - ud va Zirat - pa - ni - tur
Marduk and Zirat-panit



pa - rac - ca el - lu ra - mu - u
an altar noble high

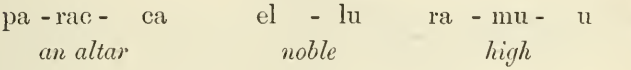
14. 

ba - su - bat nu - ah - liv u - se - sit
and a seat of rest he caused to be seated

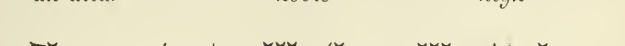
15. 

. . . . . a - na lib - bi - su ip - tu - u
. . . . . *to its interior he opened*

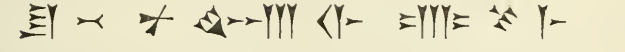
The Assyrian line 18 is so broken that it cannot be read. The Accadian (17) is a little more perfect.

17. 

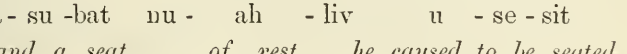
nam - tar - khi - ga mi ni - iri gar - ra (?)
good judgment . . . . . he established

20. 

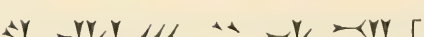
khi - da - a tu is - ku . . . . . nu
rejoicing he established

22. 

i - sit - tu ri - gu ta sumu - su - u
the foundation . . . . . his name



. . . . . .
. . . . . .

24. 

ri - is ma - ti - is - cu - u - nu

the head of the land he made.

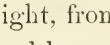
NOTES.

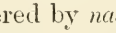
4. Abzuta, the deep or "chaos"; *ta* is the *Accadian* locative preposition, corresponding to the *Assyrian* ina.

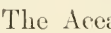
5. irāmī has more the sense of *exaltation* or *elevation* than of delight, from *ramu*, high. acca is also rendered by *nasu*, "to raise."

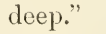
10. The Accadian is ca-abzu-ta, "the gate of the deep."

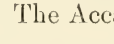
12. paraca. The Accadian has

17.  nam forms abstracts in Accadian.

 tar is rendered by *danu* in Assyrian, meaning *to judge*.

 khi is rendered by *dabu*, good, in Assyrian; see Smith's Syllabary, 303.

 ga is the post-position used to from adjectives in Accadian, and in the word danga *powerful*, &c.

I-SIT-TU, the Accadian has  , which is rendered by Isittu, see Smith's Syllabary, 23.

Another text which refers to this temple is the brick of Cyrus, published by Mr. George Smith in the Society's Transactions, Vol. II. part 1, it reads—

Cyrus builder of Bit Saggadhu and Bit-zida, son of Cambyses the powerful king, I am.

Other texts referring to restorations, &c., of it are—

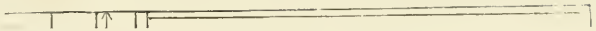
1. Black stone of Essarhaddon, W.A.I., Vol. I, plate 49.
2. A text of Assurbanipal in Vol. III, plate 38.
3. The Nebuchadnessar Inscription, W.A.I., Vol. I, plate 59.
4. Colophon dates of Samsi-itibna in W.A.I., Vol. IV, plate 38; these are translated by Mr. Smith in his notes on Early Babylonian History.
5. Some of the hymns and mythological texts in the IVth Vol. Cuneiform Inscriptions.

THE TABLET OF ANTEFAA II.

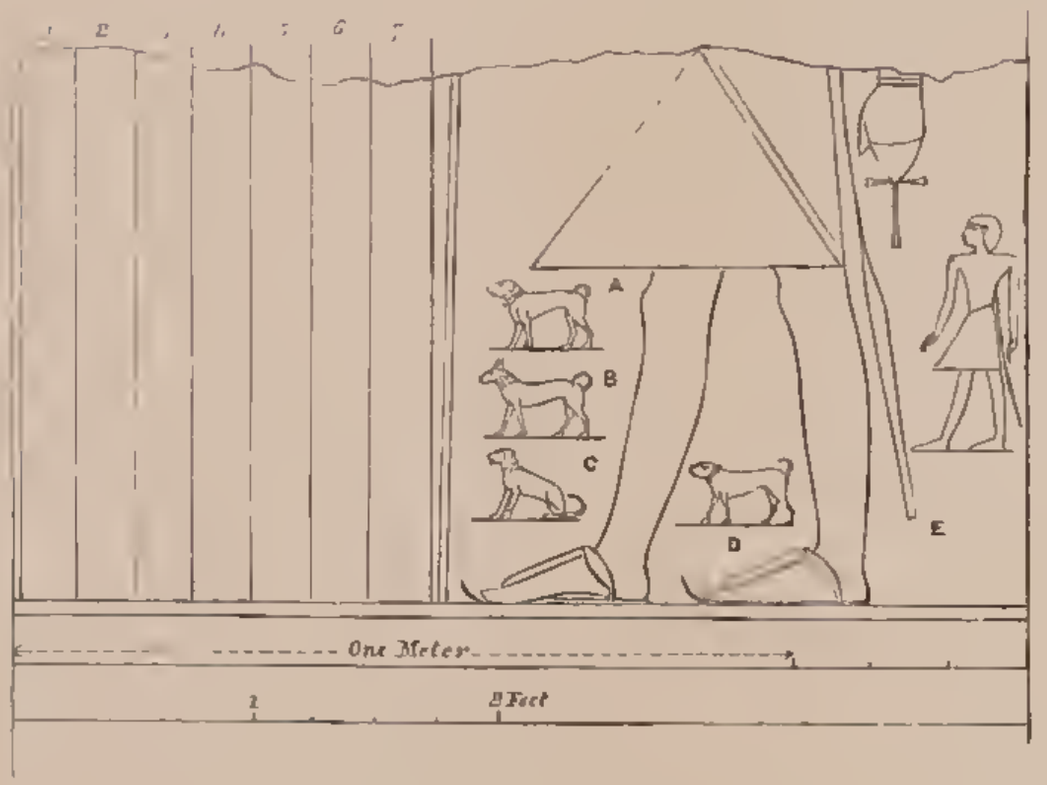
By S. Birch, LL.D.

Read 2nd March, 1875.

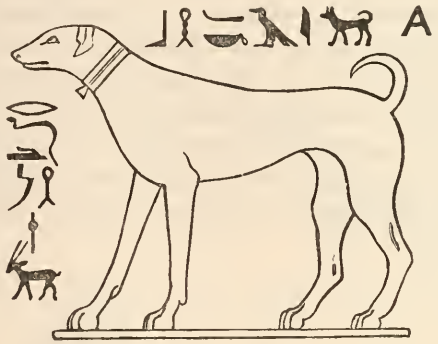
By the extreme kindness of Mariette-Bey, who has forwarded to me, through M. Maspero, a copy of the tablet of Antefaa II, which has been added to the Museum at Boulaq, but which was formerly placed before the tomb of the monarch in the valley of the El Assasif at Thebes, it is in my power to give some account of that monument. The lower portion of it only remains, the upper part having been broken away, comprising the representation of the body of the king from the head to the waist, and the portion of the commencement of the first seven lines. This is the more to be regretted, that the loss embarrasses the continuity of the text which presents some difficulties. The tablet represented the king standing and facing to the left, his right hand raised as if addressing the god, his left pendent, and holding a symbol of life. In accordance with Egyptian art, one foot, the left, is advanced, and both wear recurved sandals. The king has worn a long triangular tunic round the loins: of this tunic the lower portion remains, while the pendent leonine sash falls down his back behind. Before the king are three dogs, placed one above another, and a fourth between his legs. Each of these dogs has a collar round the neck. They are marked A, B, C, D in the accompanying woodcuts. The first of these dogs, marked A, is called 'the dog Bahakaa, alias Mahut,' and it wears a narrow collar round the neck with a tie in front. The phrase "alias" is here expressed by *er tet* 'that is to say,' and the second



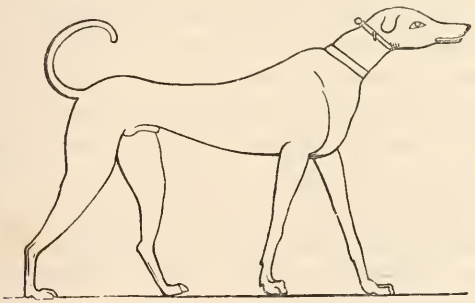
The Tablet of Antefaa II. from the Tomb in the Valley of El Assasif.



name *Mahut* is accompanied by the determinative of a gazelle, and means the leucoryx or 'white antelope.' This expression probably refers to the colour and swiftness of the hound. It has pendent ears, and resembles a foxhound; and dogs of the



same kind, and of a white colour, are said to be brought at the present day from Nubia. They also appear amidst the tributes of Kush or Æthiopia brought to Thothmes III, and depicted in the tomb of Rekmara[1] at Thebes, and in the similar tributes offered to Rameses II, at Beitoually[2] in Nubia. Another hound of the same breed, with a nose rather



more pointed, is represented by Sir Gardner Wilkinson[3] in the work already cited, and has also a collar round the neck.

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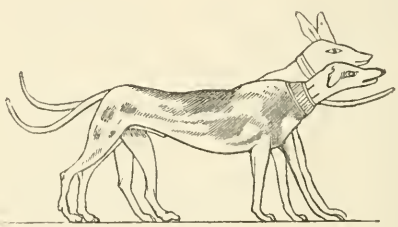
[1] Hoskins, Ethiopia. [2] Rosellini, Monumenti Storici, M. R. xviii.
[3] The Egyptians, p. 82.

It is only a sub-variety of the same kind of hound which had to be restrained by a rope, and not let loose till the game appeared in sight. All these, like the greyhound, stood high, were of slim proportions, and evidently dogs of great swiftness. A similar dog is seen in the tomb figured by Rosellini[1] running in pursuit of a gazelle amidst scenes where the jackal, doreas, and addax goats and a bird like the ostrich flies before it. Sir Gardner Wilkinson has also figured a pair of hounds of different breeds, one of which resembles it in general appearance, but is of a pied colour. There can be no doubt that this dog was a kind of hound, and used for purposes of hunting. This is the dog men-



tioned in the Abbott Papyrus by which the tablet of the king was distinguished, although in the plate and inscription it is not in the place mentioned in the text of the papyrus.[2] It was probably the most celebrated of the king's dogs, and by its name and peculiarity enabled the tomb to be at once recognised. There is another dog of a similar breed given from the tombs by Rosellini[3] and Sir Gardner Wilkinson,[4] and also a kind of hound; it has a larger nose and tail, and is mottled black and white. The dog resembles a Pomeranian one in some respects, and has a collar apparently of beads

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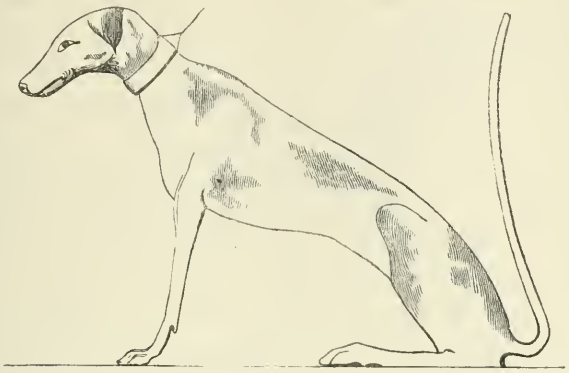
[1] Monumenti Civili, xiii, 5.

[2] For the account in the Papyrus, see Birch, Revue Archéologique, 1859, p. 257 and foll. Maspero, Une Enquête Judiciare à Thebes, 4to. Paris, 1872.

[3] Mon. Civ., xvii, 10.

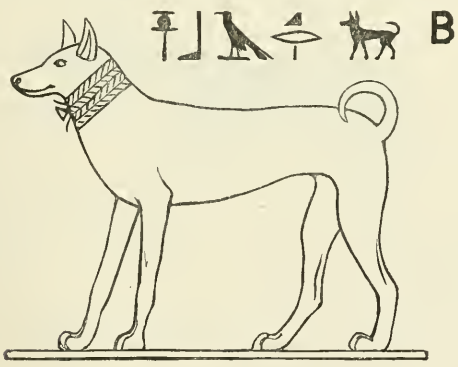
[4] The Egyptians, 8vo. Lond., 1857, p. 82.

round its neck, of a yellow, red, blue, and white colour. Both these dogs are rarely represented in the scenes, although



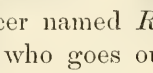
occasionally seen employed in the chase[1] at an early period. They are as old as the VIth Dynasty.

The second dog, B. bears the name of *Abakaru*. Two or



three explanations might be given of this name, but as they would be purely conjectural they are not attempted. The dog has a pointed nose, upright ears, and curled tail, like the

[1] Lepsius, Denkm., ii, 96, 107.

modern *spitz*. This collar is a cord four times tied round the neck, and also tied in front. This dog has a very sharp and active look. It is the oldest dog seen on the monuments, appearing at the time of Cheops of the IVth Dynasty, and called by some the Khufu dog In the tombs of that period he appears as a house dog attached to the chair of his master; he was of the kind called  *tasem*, and one under the chair of an officer of the XIIth dynasty[1] was named *Xafmes*. Another with a cord lashed five times round the neck is seen at the foot of an officer named *Ra-śaaf-anχ* of the period of the IVth Dynasty, who goes out with it to the fields.[2] A similar dog in the tomb of another officer named Tebhen has no collar, but has the name of Ken . . ., while the same breed is represented in the hunting field with other dogs pursuing animals,[3] and runs with the cord round its neck. It appears also as a household dog, named *Tem* or *Katem*, under the chair of an officer, and one whose name was Akena is seen lying down in another scene[4] of the time of Śepeskaf. Similar dogs constantly are seen in the tombs of the old Empire, and were used in small packs, as many as four being represented held by ties round the neck.[5] Rosellini[6] has figured some of this breed of a black and liver colour; one with the name of *Menemmuf*, perhaps an epithet of his quality of a water-dog, and the name '*Nahsi*.' A female dog of this breed has also the name *Satekai*.[7] According to M. Pichot,[8] this dog with pointed ears is still found in the bazaars of Cairo, and is not to be mistaken for the tame jackal, which the Egyptians represented in a different manner.

Several dogs of this breed appear in the monuments, and

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[1] Sharpe, Egypt. Inscript., pl. 87.

[2] Lepsius, Denkm., Abth. II, Bl. 9.

[3] Ibid., Bl. 46.

[4] Ibid., Bl. 50–52, 77, 78.

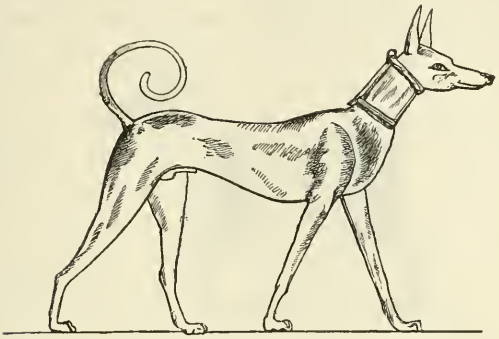
[5] Duemichen, die Resultate, fo. 1869, Taf. viii.

[6] Monumenti Storici, xvi. 5.

[7] Rosellini, Mon. Civ., xvi, 3.

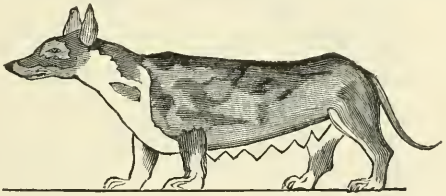
[8] Société d'Acclimatisation, 2e series, tom. VII, 1870, p. 100.

have been depicted by Rosellini and Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and are chiefly of a pied colour,[1] as in the following example.



According to Youatt, it is a dog not unlike the old Talbot hound or Eskimaux dog.[2]

The modern Egyptian dog, described by that author, is not the same, but many varieties of the race with pointed ears appear on the monuments; one, a female dog of a black and liver colour, like a turn-spit, with short legs and pointed



nose,[3] evidently a household dog, and unsuited for the chase. Others occur with white and brown spots like the poodle or spaniel,[4] or yellow and white with red eyes.[5] A remarkable variety of this type resembles closely such dogs of mongrel origin as are often seen at the present day, and were perhaps half-breeds of the dogs with pointed noses and the flat-nosed dog or hound, and were used either for in or out door

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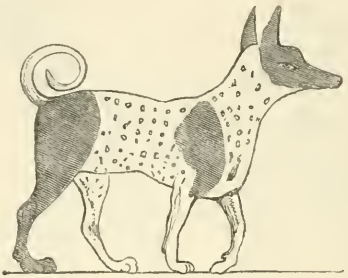
[1] The word *ab* amongst other significations has that of 'pied.'

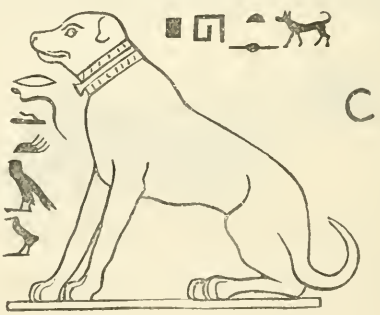
[2] Youatt, The Dog, 8vo. Lond. 1875, p. 56.

[3] Rosellini, Mon. Civ., xvii, 6. [4] Ibid. xvii, 2. [5] Ibid. xviii, 2.

purposes. Such is the dog called *Xabasu*,[1] the name conferred on the animal given in Rosellini and having a red and blue colour, a spotted dog with a yellow skin,[2] and another fatter and liver coloured,[3] with a white and yellow variety:



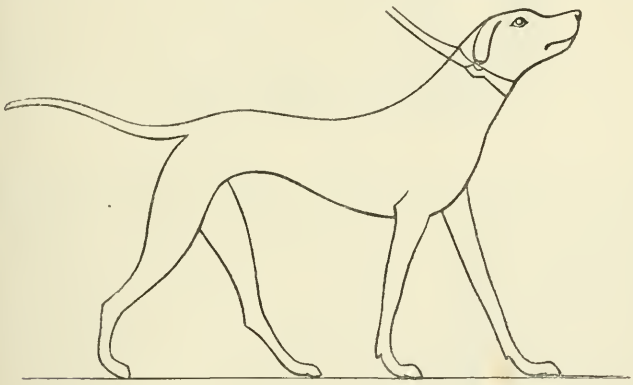
all of which were apparently house dogs, or pets, and not suitable for other purposes. The older breed of the dogs held ready to start or actually running is constantly seen in the tombs till the close of XIIth Dynasty.[4] This dog was indigenous to Egypt, is not seen brought as a foreign animal, and has remained till the present day.



The third dog, C, is called 'Pahates, alias Kamu.' The first name is, like the preceding, of doubtful meaning. The

[1] Rosellini, Mon. Civ., xvii, 7. [2] Ibid. xvii, 4. [3] Ibid. xvi, 6.
[4] Lepsius, Denkm., Abth. II, Bl. 131–134.

second means 'Black,' probably referring to the colour of the dog. It is a kind of mastiff, and was probably used for the chase of large animals, although it has not so large a collar of coiled rope round the neck to protect it from their claws. It is clearly a mastiff,[1] a breed rarely represented in the sculptures, but which, however, is found,[2] but not at the earlier period of the IVth Dynasty.[3] This was probably an Indian or Æthiopian dog, and resembles in type the large hounds seen in the Assyrian sculptures. It was probably introduced into Egypt from Æthiopia after the progress of the arms of the early Pharaohs had penerated into Æthiopia. Such hounds were suitable for hunting the lion, and the monarch of the forest appears among the various animals of the mountains at an early period. In the Assyrian sculptures this kind of dog is seen thus employed, and the large and powerful hounds of the breed were brought from India.



It is represented with a leash round its neck in the sculptures, and at this early period had been introduced into Egypt, although it does appear like that with the pointed ears, the indigenous dog mentioned before, to have been used as a house dog. In the letter of Candace, the queen of Æthiopia, to Alexander the Great,[4] she mentions "canes

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[1] Youatt, p. 100. [2] Rosellini, Mon. Civ., xvii. 3.
[3] Lepsius, Denkm., Abth II, Bl. 107.
[4] Mai, Classic. Veter. 8vo. Romæ, t. viii, 1835, p. 200.

etiam in homines efferacissimos nonaginta," apparently ninety blood-hounds, or some other kind of dogs, which might be used either in the chase of men, or employed like that by Rameses II in war against his enemies. All these different breeds appear intermingled, and to have produced the different varieties of hounds seen in the sculptures.

The fourth dog, which stands between the legs of the king, is called Tekar or Tekal, the name conferred upon him.

Like two of the others he has a second appellative, *Uha t neb χar naf* or *χar f*, which does not appear like the preceding to refer to the colour of the animal. It is not preceded by the expression *en ṭet*, as in the other cases. The first word of the appellative *uha.t*, perhaps a variant of the word *uha* 'to lay waste, plough up, or destroy,' a word analogous to *uh* 'to cut off or raze.' It is followed by the word *neb* 'lord' or 'all,' and the word *χar neft* 'under his breath.' The meaning of this epithet seems very obscure. There is one peculiarity about it, the presence of two feminine articles from which it would appear that the dog was female, although the bold and erect attitude it assumes gives it the character of a male dog. Round its neck is a cord thrice lashed round its neck. This dog closely resembles the Dalmatian hound.[1] It is rarely if

[1] Youatt, p. 28.

ever represented in the hunting scenes, and was not, like the preceding dogs, indigenous to the country, nor is it known whence it came. In the case of the dogs A. and C., their colour is mentioned in their epithet. B. has probably his expressed in his name, as the first syllable *ab* means 'pied' or 'spotted,' and *Akar* may signify a 'Sphinx,' and his name 'the Spotted' or 'pied Sphinx' may express his colour. It is consequently fair to suppose that the appellative of this dog expresses also the colour; but it is difficult to know what it is intended to express.

The hieroglyph a dog walking with its tail raised, was used for the determinative of the word *tasem* or 'hound,'[1] perhaps the female or watch dog, as it is written in hieratic *tas-mer* or *as-mut*. It is a word also applied to certain parts of a fortification, perhaps as the watch-towers or look-outs of the wall. Some varieties of this form are found, as [2] the determinative of the word *uhar*, the male dog, the Coptic ⲡⲓⲟⲩϩⲱⲣ *pi-uhôr*. Another variety of dog was called *au* or *au-au*,[3] and appears to have been employed in the chase. It had the same determinative with the raised tail,[4] or else was represented seated .[5] But it would appear that this was either the wild dog or the jackal, as it is found with the determinative of that animal, the great peculiarity of the dog being that it turns on one side, or curls its tail, while the jackal and wild dog carry the tail pendent. The Egyptians used the same jackal or *canis aureus* for the chase, and it no doubt closely resembles the dog B., indeed Laborde states that he hunted with this kind of dog in Arabia. In the campaigns of Meneptah, the Libyans are said to have come down on Egypt like these *au* dogs, a metaphor more applicable to the wild dog or the jackal, whole troops of which still range the desert and disturb the stillness of the night by their lugubrious howl or wail. Amongst the many

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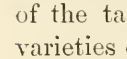
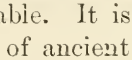
[1] Brugsch, Wörterb. s. 96. [2] Ibid. s. 268. [3] Ibid. s. 539.

[4] Papyrus. Brit. Mus. No. 9,900, in the passage Lepsius, Todtenbuch, c. 17, line 65.

[5] Brugsch, Mon. d'Egypte, ii, Taf. lxxi, 4.

hunting scenes already mentioned, several of these wild dogs are seen in pursuit of game. The word *au* evidently indicates a peculiar breed or kind of dog different from the *tasem* and the *uhar*, and was probably that descended from the jackal or hyæna, an animal domesticated in Egypt, and even at the time of the IVth Dynasty prized as a luxury of the table. It is, indeed, just probable that one of the varieties of ancient dogs may have resulted from a crossing with this animal. Another name applied to the dog was  *unśu* or  *unśau* 'wolves,' a very singular one, as favouring the derivation of the dog from the domesticated wolf. There is a very remarkable letter of the scribe Enna, in the days of Meneptah of the XIXth Dynasty, in which that scribe speaks of large packs of hounds, 200 of the kind called *uau*, and 300 more *unśu*—500 in all. "They stand," he says, "daily at the door of his house at the time of his rising out of sleep. They make a breakfast when the amphora is opened. He does not, he continues to say, wish to have any of the little dogs or pups of the breed of Nahar Hu, the royal scribe, staying in the house, for it is an annoyance to me. Hour after hour, every time of his going out, in his going in the road, this dog must be kicked and flogged, making the thongs of the whip fall out one after another. The red long-tailed dog goes at night into the stalls of the hills. He is better than the long-faced dog. He makes no delay in hunting, his face glares like a god, and he delights to do his work, the kennel where he abides he does not make it";[1] that is, he does not stop anywhere in the pursuit of his prey. It is remarkable to find these animals classed together, but the term 'wolf' was probably applied to one of the breeds of dogs on account of its resemblance in appearance or quality of mind and hunting powers to that more ferocious animal.

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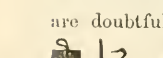
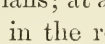
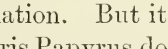
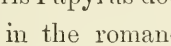
[1] This passage is Select Papyri, pl. xciii, l. 12, to xciv, l. 5. I have followed Mr. Godwin's translation, Cambridge Essays, 8vo. 1858, p. 25, but many passages are doubtful and obscure; for example, in the Harris Papyrus, p. xli, 6, l. 4,  *sabaru* is applied to some part of grapes.

The Egyptian was much attached to this animal, and by no means held it in abhorrence, as the Jews appear to have done, and who always speak of it and the ass in terms of contempt, and there is no record of its use amongst them either for the protection of the house or purposes of the chase. The only instance of familiarity with the dog being in the Apocrypha, where the dog of Tobias runs home before him to announce his approach.

Another kind of hound is supposed to be mentioned in the romance of the Doomed Prince, and to have been called the boarhound. The boar hunt was probably a favourite pursuit of the Assyrians; at all events, the wild boar, although not chased, is seen in the reliefs, the other animals hunted by Assurbanipal or Sardanapalus being the lion, the wild ass, the deer, and the wild goat. There is no instance of the Egyptians ever following the boar, an animal held by them in abhorrence, and which they could not touch, or even allow to touch them. It is indeed possible, that in the days of Thothmes III the boar may have been pursued as now in the plains of Mesopotamia, and that the romance in question is the translation or reproduction of some Aramæan work of imagination. But it is also probable that the expression of the Harris Papyrus does not refer to that hound. The word for dog in the romance[1] is  *au*, or, as some Egyptologists persist to read it *fu*, the *au* being probably the onomatopœa of the familiar *wow*—or *bow wow* by which the dog is known—the short cry or bark of the dog. The passage about the supposed boarhound is much mutilated, and reads either  *χet χet rera*, "follower of the boar," or  [2] *χet χet śera*, "follower of the youth," that is, a dog that went about with a boy, a harmless domesticated animal, or even if the word *śera* applies to the dog itself, a pup, it being probable that the alarmed father of the prince sent the least dangerous kind of dog he could to pacify his son rather than a fierce boarhound,

[1] Harris Papyrus, 500, l. 4. [2] Ibid. l. 10.

which would have been more likely to soon fulfil the conditions of the oracle. At all events, the hieratic form favours the hypothesis. Without doubt he was ultimately destroyed by the dog, but in what manner the mutilated tale does not describe. The dog, subsequent to the Moslim conquest of Egypt, has been allowed to roam wild in herds through the streets and suburbs, and are all said[1] to be affected by mange, leprosy, or some other cutaneous malady. The Arabs, however, had harehounds.

In the articles brought at different times to Egypt by the neighbouring countries dogs occasionally appear, as in those brought to the Queen Hatasu or Haśeps from Punt or Arabia, others which came from the Æthiopians at the time of Thothmes III, and the bloodhounds mentioned in the letter as sent by Queen Candace from Ethiopia.

In the examination made in the 16th year of Rameses IX of the tombs violated by robbers, one of the principal tombs investigated was that of Antefaa of the XIth Dynasty. The passage reads :—

"The tomb of the king of Upper Egypt, son of the Sun, Antefaa the living, which is north of the temple of Amenhept [I] the living, of the forecourt his tomb placed in it is damaged —its tablet is placed before it. There is a figure of the king standing on the tablet with his dog between his legs, it is called Buhaka, examined on that day (the 18th of the month Athor] it was found uninjured."[2]

The tablet, as will be seen, is considerably injured, and it is of course possible that it may have been so at the remote period when the inquest was held. The description of the inquest does not exactly correspond with the copy of the tablet discovered by Mariette-Bey. The dog Buhaka is the dog A, and M. Maspero's copy makes that dog to stand before the legs of the king, the first of a perpendicular row

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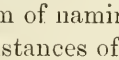
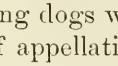
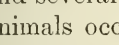
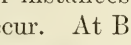
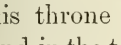
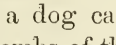
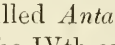
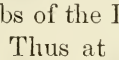
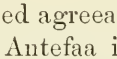
[1] Prosper Alpinus, Hist. Ægypt. Nat. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1735, p. 230.

[2] Maspero, Une Enquête Judiciare à Thebes, 4to. Paris, 1872, pp. 13-14. There is some difficulty in this passage as to what was 'damaged' and what was 'intact,' apparently only the *abu* forecourt of the sepulchre, the tomb being uninjured. Originally I translated *tasem* "cat," misled by the animal, Sharpe, Egypt. Inscr. 87, 108.

of three dogs A, B, C, the dog between the legs being D, named Tekal, and the word Buhaka being differently written as Bahakaa. These variations often occur, the transcription of words pronounced but not seen being differently written, thanks to a pliant polyphonic system.

The custom of naming dogs was by no means uncommon, and several instances of appellatives being applied to these animals occur. At Beitoually, Rameses II has at the foot of his throne a dog called *Antaemnexχt*, or 'Anaitis in power,' and in the tombs of the IVth and XIIth Dynasties many dogs have names. Thus at the time of XIIth Dynasty dogs are seen named  *Satekai*,[1]  [2] *Xabesu*,  *Menmaufnahsi*,[3]  *Snab*,[4] and  *Xafmes*,[5]  *Akena*,[6] and  *Ken . . .*,[7] and  *Temaa*.[8]

Names, in fact, were freely conferred in Egypt on horses and other animals, and even tools had particular and distinguishing names: these names often expressed metaphorically the qualities and uses of the object on which they were conferred.

The pack of Antefaa were named agreeably to the usual custom. This pack of hounds of Antefaa is like the same animals in the royal kennels of Assurbanipal, which were used in the lion hunts of that monarch, and of which terra cotta figures with their names were found placed behind the slabs of the lion hunts at Kouyunjik. That Antefaa was attached to the chase is evident, for the different kind of dogs are all varieties of hounds used for that purpose by the Egyptians. Besides the dog an officer named  *Tekenru*, draped in a collar *usχ* and tunic *śenti* with pendant arms, and of smaller size, follows the king. He is unaccompanied by any title, but may be the huntsman of the king.

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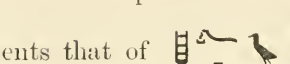
[1] Rosellini, Mon. Civ., xvi, 3. [2] Ibid. xvi, 7. [3] Ibid. xvi, 5.
[4] Sharpe, Egypt. Inscr., 87. [5] Ibid. 108. [6] Lepsius, Denkm., ii, 52.
[7] Ibid. ii, 36. [8] Ibid. 47.

At the time of Cheops the officer Amten held amongst other employments that of  *χem nu* or *χerp nu* with the determinative of a man holding a dog.[1] It is difficult to know what this expression exactly means, but the determinative favours the supposition that it may be intended to express master of the hounds. Such an office must have evidently existed for the packs of hounds used by the Pharaohs, and the chief nobility of Egypt, ever engaged in the chase, but it is not otherwise found.

The subject of the XIth Dynasty has been already treated by the late Vicomte de Rougé in the Revue Archéologique, and its relation to the XIIth Dynasty proved by the tablet of Leyden,[2] which had formed part of the sepulchre of an officer named Antefakar, who had been superintendent of the Canals of Abydos. Amongst the persons represented on that tablet is one Amensu, who states that the father of the father of his father, that is his great-grandfather, was appointed to the same office in the reign of the "Horus augmenting life the king, son of the Sun Antef." Now this king has the same Horus title as Antefaa, and is probably the same monarch. The time of the erection of the tablet was the thirty-third year of Osortesen I; and as Antefaa reigned from this tablet 50 years, it gives 83 years from that period to the commencement of the reign of Antefaa. But as four generations are involved by the statement, the whole period was probably 120 years. In this inscription Antef has not the usual cartouche; but this is not uncommon in the Antef line, and was probably due to the fact that the whole line, always local, derived its origin from a nomarch or collateral branch of a royal family.

The succession of the XIth Dynasty has indeed been arranged by Lepsius;[3] but as the reasons on which it is based are not given, it will be necessary to cast a glance on the state of the inquiry as it stands at present.

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[1] Lepsius, Denkm., Abth. II, 3.

[2] Revue Archéologique, vol. vi, 1849, p. 557, et seq.

[3] Königsbuch, Taf. xi.

According to the epitomists of Manetho, there were 13 kings of the line, who reigned 43 years only. It will be seen from the inscriptions that Antefaa reigned fifty, and another monarch 43 years, so that Manetho's account is obviously incorrect. Lepsius' series is—

1. Antef [called 'the good god'].
2. Mentuhetp, king of Upper and Lower Egypt.
3. Antef II, *Horus hapt ma*, and same title in cartouche prenomen.
   His wife Mentuhetp.
4. Antef III. Har hi ma.
   His queen Nubsas.
   Another queen Xonsu.
   A king Har uah anχ Antef not in cartouche.
5. Mentuhetp II, prenomen Ra neb χru.
6. Antef IV, prenomen Ra nub χeper.
   Usersen.
7. Mentuhetp III, prenomen Ra neb hetp.
   A queen mother Ama.
8. Ra sanχ ka.
9. A king whose name is destroyed.
10. Ra neb nem.

The Karnak list,[1] the order of which is in other instances unfortunately misplaced, and consequently not absolutely authoritative, gives six monarchs of this line, five in the first row and one at the end of the fourth close to the kings of the XVIIth Dynasty. They are as follows:—

1. The Horus Antef in a cartouche.
2. The Horus Antefaa in a cartouche.
3. The Horus ha Antef . . . . . in a cartouche.
4. The Horus ancestor Mentuhetp.
5. The Repa ha [Heir-apparent] not in a cartouche.

All these are in the second line.

6. The good god, lord active, Ra anχ χeper (Antef).

In the 4th line, amongst the kings of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasty.

[1] Burton, Excerpta Hieroglyphica; Prisse, Monumens, Pl. I.

The tablet of Abydos gives only two monarchs of this line—

1. Ra-neb-χru or Mentuhetp II,
2. Ra-sanχ-ka,

as the 57th and 58th names of the list; and the same only are found in the tablet of Sakkara as the 45th and 46th of the list.[1] Their names are not found in the Papyrus of Turin, so that the reconstruction of the dynasty depends entirely on the internal evidence the monuments afford, and the monuments cannot be arranged according to the official lists. The principal information that these afford is, that some of the so-called dynasty had not assumed the title of king, but were only princes, heirs-apparent to the throne, or else local lords of the nome over which they ruled.

The monarch Mentuhetp II was one of the ancestors of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and his statue was carried in the ancestral processions of that line. The title 'Horus ancestor,' applied in the Karnak tablet to one of these kings of the XIth, probably has reference to the XVIIIth Dynasty having descended from him. In the absence of positive information, it will be necessary to consider the general facts connected with this line. It does not under any circumstances appear to have ruled beyond Egypt, for no tablet erected in their reign is found at the mines of the Sarabit-el-Khadim or the Wady Magarah. Nor in Egypt itself up to the present date has any monument been found dated in the reigns of any of the rulers of this line.

The outer case of the mummy of Antefaa exists at present in the Louvre, and the principal point of interest connected with it is that this monarch, who is the supposed Antef II, received a burial from his brother, Antef III. On the coffin he is called Antef only; but the prenomen of this monarch is well known, and is found on a pyramidion from Thebes,[2] on one side of which is part of the title of a sovereign named Mentuhetp, supposed by some to be a queen and the wife of Antefaa. It is not possible to decide this point, owing to

[1] Bunsen's Egypt's Place, vol. i, 1867, pp. 52-57.

[2] Now in the British Museum, No. 520.

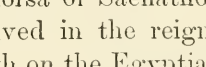
a fracture of the monument, but a queen of the name of Mentuhetp is known, as also that she was a queen-mother.

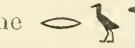
The list of Lepsius give two queens for Antef III. The first of these queens was named Nubśās, the second Xonsu. The evidence of their belonging to this monarch rests on the assignment of Lepsius only. It will be observed that in the list of Lepsius an Antef is given, not in the usual cartouche and preceded by the Horus title *Uah anχ*, 'augmenter of life;' this phrase is the Horus or so-called standard title, but ought rather to be termed the palatial title of Antefaa. The square in which this title is inscribed represented a doorway, not a banner; and in some examples the bolts by which the door was secured are depicted at the lower part of the hieroglyph. These Horus titles, prior to the XIIth Dynasty, were constant, not changed during the life of the monarch, nor assumed by their successors. It is therefore conclusive that the Antef placed after Antef III was Antefaa, or Antef II. The case of Antef III has also been found at the El Assasif,[1] and is in the Museum of the Louvre. His prenomen, *Ra, χerp apu her ma*, appears to have been added to it after the other inscriptions, but there is no reason to suppose that the cave had been usurped by a later king, that being impossible. He bears in the inscriptions the name of Antef only. The coffins at this period were hewn out of a single tree, and fashioned in the shape of the mummy. Mentuhetp II appears to have been a victorious monarch, and is represented on the rocks of Konosse as having vanquished thirteen nations or tribes. This king is represented as the worshipper of Khem or Coptos. The most illustrious monarch of the series was Mentuhetp III, and dates of his reign are found as high as his 43rd year. The inscriptions of Coptos represent him worshipping the god Khem on the rocks of El Hammamat, the entrance of valley leading to Coptos. A tablet discovered by Mr. Harris, the copy of which was unfortunately lost at the time, represented him worshipped by his successor, Antef IV. It is this monarch who, as has been already observed, was the predecessor of

[1] Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache, 1869, s. 49.

the monarchs of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The earlier inscriptions on the same rocks record the second year of the reign of Mentuhetp III.[1]

From excavations made many years ago at Medinat Habu, by Lord Dufferin, it appears that a shrine of that site was founded by one of the Antefs, whose name was inscribed on the border of a wooden tablet dedicated to the god Amen Ra, or the Theban Jupiter. A beautiful statue of that god, probably of the same age, was found by Mr. Cyril Graham during the course of the excavations.

Another monarch of this line was Ameni, a king mentioned on 839 tablet in a funeral inscription describing the titles of a person named Sanaru, who bore the title of royal priest in the land of Ameni χerp  *suten ab em Ameni χerp abmer.* The numerous persons named Ameni at the commencement of the XIIth Dynasty show that the name was given to those born in the reign of a previous monarch, and Ameni must be added to the list of Antefs as closing the line of kings of the XIth Dynasty.

A tablet of the British Museum, No. 569, throws some light on the reign of Ameni of the XIth Dynasty. The officer Hathorsa or Saenathor, for whom it had been made, and who lived in the reign of Amenemha II, records his services both on the Egyptian frontiers in the south, where he had penetrated as far as the Nahsi or Negroes, and had occupied himself in the obtaining of gold from Ethiopia. He has also been engaged in the construction of the palace of Ameni-χerp abmer or Ameni, the consecrated Pyramid, or consecrator of the Pyramid. Here he had under him fifteen chiefs at the  *rot* either the "steps" or the base of the edifice. Saenathor appears to have completed his labours in a day less than two months.[2]

The seven lines of hieroglyphs placed before the king appear to relate to certain donations he had made to the temple of Amen at Thebes, probably to the original shrine

[1] Prisse, Monumens. Pl.

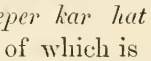
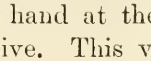
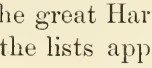
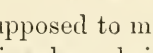
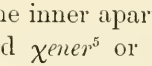
[2] Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache, 1874, p. 113.

at Medinat Habu, and to his sepulchre. The upper part of each line is wanting owing to the fracture of the monument. The purport of the whole is rather obscure.

LINE

1. . . . . The *persons* of Amen, his divine abode was filled with noble vases to pour out libations, never has been found what has been done to Amen the first of all existent types.
2. . . . . [for ever] and ever. For then were built their divine abode, laid their staircase, chiselled their halls, appointed their sacred supplies in *it* for ever. Was found.
3. . . . . its limit behind the pool, made by the work in the noble hill. The *East* was also occupied, all its enclosures were open, being made open in front.
4. . . . . like the Heaven, greatest of things, like the sea, noblest of the glories of the places of waters surrounded by that arable land. I myself ordered my son, I gave my commands.
5. . . . . without cessation coming out of [the] mouth. Not commanded the passage of that word. He who was in the desert did not strangle that word prepared in place of my fathers, not neglecting to hear his word.
6. . . . . it for ever and ever. The 50th year this tablet was set up at the sepulchre of the Horus, augmenter of life, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Son of the Sun Antefaa.
7. . . . . thousands of loaves, jars of beer, flesh, fowl, thousands of all goods things, to the Horus augmenter of life, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of the Sun Antefaa.

The philological difficulties of this text are very great. At the beginning of the first line, the part preceding the word Amen, requires to be restored apparently in connection with the two determinatives that follow the name of that god. The part which follows the name of the god Amen when it is mentioned a second time is also wanting, but was evidently part of the titles of the same god, and is one of those difficult mystical titles of the god, other examples of

which are seen on the tablets of the XIIth Dynasty, as in one in the British Museum dated in the 13th year of Amenemha II, *api sut χeper kar hat* "forthwith produced at first,"[1] the latter part of which is perhaps to be restored in this text. In the 2nd line is a word  *sak-hu*, or rather *s-kahu*, the hand at the end being used at this time for a determinative. This verb is applied to constructions and may be in connection with the word *akhu* a hatchet,[2] and occurs in the great Harris Papyrus before the word *menś* 'a galley,' in the lists apparently in the sense of 'shipbuilding.' Here it belongs to the word *out*, or steps of the edifice. In the 93rd line is the word  *ath* or *tah*, a word in some variants supposed to mean 'marsh,'[3] but apparently not with that meaning here, being accompanied with another determinative usually found in the word *χenem*[4] and supposed to relate to the inner apartments in that word, and it also occurs in the word *χener*[5] or χena[6] to shut or inclose, apparently connecting this particular form with the idea of an 'enclosed place' which was 'open.' The word *ar*  in line 3 rarely occurs in inscriptions, although this group forms the final syllable of the words *Ta-ar* and *ma-ar* in the sense of to bind, chain or imprison. The present form is probably connected with the Coptic ϩλοοϭϵ a noose to strangle with, and hence the sense of the passage that "he who was in the desert or the Her-sa was never strangled" or 'suffocated.' But the form is so rare as to suggest that the  , which is sometimes seen transfixing as it were the eagle, may have been omitted in the copy or by the masons. Altogether the word before the titles of the king has  *a* alone remaining. It has been partly erased, but as the other signs are uncertain, the sense of the passage

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[1] Sharpe, Egypt. Inscr. pl. 78, l. 5.
[2] Cf. Brugsch, Wörterb. 11.
[3] Brugsch, Wörterb. 658, 27.
[4] Lepsius, Denkm., Abt. II, Bl. 100, 6; Brugsch, Wörterb. 706.
[5] Tablet, Egypt. Gall. Brit. Mus. 159.
[6] Pap. Barker, Brit. Mus.; Lepsius, Todtt. c. 1, l. 3; Brugsch, Wörterb. 116.

and condition of the monument requires that the word *a*[*bmer*] sepulchre, should be supplied, as the tablet was placed before that monument of the king. The form *sen* or *sent* is usually accompanied by the determinative of the slug, but here has the cake, a form which occasionally occurs on the monuments. The passage is rather difficult, as the word when the determinative of *sent* 'terror' is the plucked goose, and it may read "Unspeakable it was the terror of that word," meaning that the effect of his commands were such that the Heruśa or supposed Bedouins could not dare to disobey it; and the following sentence means 'the Herusa could' or 'did not strangle that word' or order which Antefaa had given to his son. There are many difficulties in this part of the inscription, the chief interest of it being the high date of the king's reign, and it is remarkable that there is no allusion to the hunting expeditions of the king, in which he no doubt engaged. The text appears to refer to the occupation of this part of the country for the purpose of executing these monuments, and that it was done without either opposition or oppression on the part of the monarch or his family. There is not much wanting, as the king having his arm elevated, and the text being arranged so as to meet the requirements of the figure, about one third of the whole is probably absent. The inscriptions of the XIth Dynasty are however so rare, that the present is a most valuable addition to those already known for the light it throws on the obscure period of that dynasty.

I owe to the kindness of M. Mariette the following account of the Tombs of the XIth Dynasty—

"La tombe où la Stèle a été trouvée existe encore à Drah-abou'l-neggah. Elle est située plus près du Nil que de la montagne et juste à la lisière des terres cultivées. Elle consiste en une pyramide de briques crues qui n'a pas dû avoir plus d'une quinzaine de mètres de base. Au centre et dans le massif de cette pyramide est une chambre dont le

fond était occupé par la Stèle en question. Cette chambre avait une porte parfaitement visible du dehors, et dans l'antiquité on la visitait par conséquent quand on voulait.

"Mais ce qui était caché, c'est la chambre mortuaire proprement dite. La pyramide étant construite sur le roc, c'est dans le roc qu'a été creusée la tombe et que se trouve la chambre où repose la momie. Je ne l'ai pas trouvée. La pyramide, en effet, n'est pas orientée. D'un autre côté l'entrée du couloir qui conduit à la chambre peut se rencontrer au sud, au nord, à l'est, à l'ouest, et même assez loin du monument. Il faut dire aussi que ce qui reste de la pyramide se trouve enclavé dans une propriété particulière. Je n'ai donc pu faire sur la pyramide que des tentatives d'autant moins sérieuses que je n'avais aucune règle pour me guider, ni aucun précédent à suivre.

"J'ajouterai que l'usage de disposer les morts dans les tombes ayant la forme extérieure de pyramides et bâties en briques, est commun à tout le Moyen-Empire, depuis la XIe jusqu'à la XIIIe dynastie. J'en ai trouvé plus de cent à Abydos. Dans ce cas les pyramides ne sont pas orientées. Comme la tombe d'Antef-aa, elles ont deux chambres, une accessible en tout temps, l'autre à jamais cachée. Les tombes de Drah-abou'l-neggah qui appartiennent à cette période sont régies par les mêmes lois, même quand elles sont creusées dans le roc vif. En ce cas une ou plusieurs chambres donnent accès aux visiteurs, et on n'arrive à la chambre mortuaire que par un puits rectangulaire le plus souvent vertical, quelquefois incliné. J'ai trouvé autrefois la tombe d'Antef Ra-neb-Xeper. En avant de la porte étaient deux obélisques, ce qui prouve qu'on n'avait pas du tout l'intention de rendre cette tombe invisible du dehors. Le tout, comme vous le voyez, rentre dans les conditions des mastabas de l'Ancien-Empire.

"Quant à tous ces petits objets, meubles, ustensiles, armes, vases, paniers, blé, fruits, pains, etc., que les tombes de la XIe dynastie nous restituent si souvent, c'est dans la chambre mortuaire, avec la momie ou à côté, qu'on les trouve, jamais dans la salle extérieure, réservée seulement aux prières des survivants."

Appendix.

The following letters from Mr. A. D. Bartlett, F.Z.S., were read at the meeting, and ordered to be printed after the paper by Dr. Birch:—

"Zoological Society's Gardens,
"Regent's Park, London, N.W.,
"*February* 26, 1875.

"Dear Sir,

"In reply to your note, I consider the figure of the dog A closely resembles the Dalmatian Hound in form, and probably the Gazelle Hounds are descendants of this breed. B well represents a dog found in the *North of China*, barely distinguishable from the *Esquimaux*, which may be regarded as half *wolf*. We have also the Wild Dog of Australia (the Dingo), *not in any respect different in form or general character from the figure* B. The form of C *is doubtless that of the Mastiff;* and D appears to be a smaller and probably a *pet house dog;* it appears to have had its ears cropped.

"Yours faithfully,
"A. D. BARTLETT."

"*W. R. Cooper, Esq., F.R.A.S.,*
"*Secretary to the Society of Biblical Archæology.*"

"Zoological Society's Gardens,
"Regent's Park, London, N.W.,
"*March* 8, 1875.

"Dear Sir,

"In reply to your letter of this day, you have my permission to use the remarks I made upon the subject of the dogs in any way you may think proper. I am glad to hear of the 'Dog of the White Antelope.' Last year I was in Hamburgh on the arrival of a large collection of living animals from Africa, in which collection were many Gazelles and other Antelopes, together with 16 *or more Giraffes*. With this large lot were many attendants, who brought with them *two of the dogs* used for the *capture of the Gazelles and other of the Antelopes;* these dogs are in form like the one figured on your paper.

"Yours faithfully,
"A. D. BARTLETT."

"*W. R. Cooper, Esq., F.R.A.S.*"

HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTIONS LATELY DISCOVERED NEAR SAN'Â IN ARABIA.

By Captain W. F. Prideaux, F.R.G.S., *Bombay Staff Corps.*

Read 6th July, 1875.

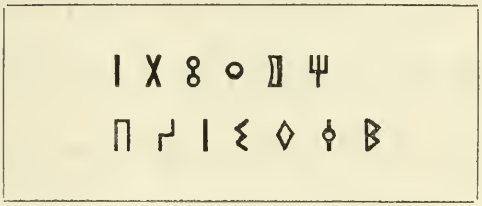
The following inscriptions, which have recently been brought to Aden from the vicinity of San'â in Yemen, are published in continuation of those printed at page 28, Vol. II, of the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

No. XI.—On a Perfect Slab of Limestone.

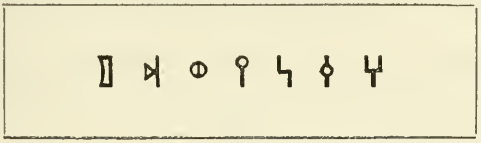
No. XII.—On a Small Block of Limestone,

Of which the upper portion is fashioned into the form of an elephant. The head is broken off, but the body and legs are perfect. Below the forelegs the heads and scaly necks of two snakes are carved upon the stone. An endowment of Wadd by Ḥam'atht son of Shafḳm.

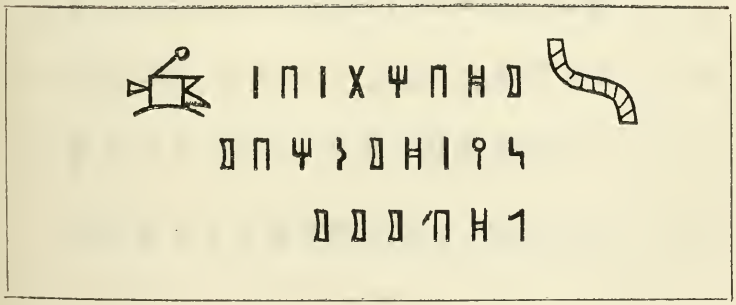
In front, below the Elephant.



On the side.



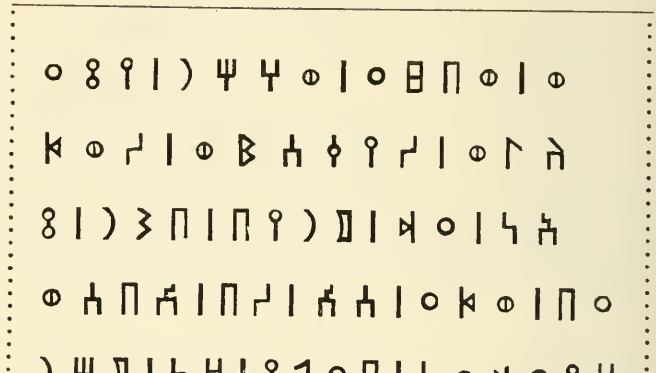
No. XIII.—On a Sacrificial Altar of Limestone.



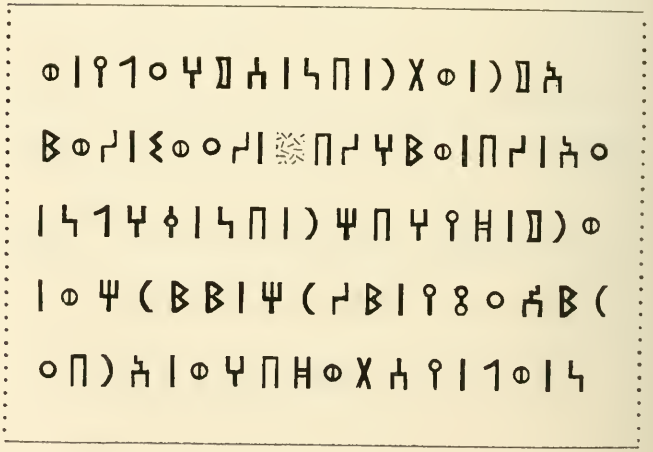
No. XIV.—(Boustrophedon).

On three slabs of limestone (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*), each of which is unfortunately broken, but which apparently are consecutive. The dotted lines show where the stone is fractured.

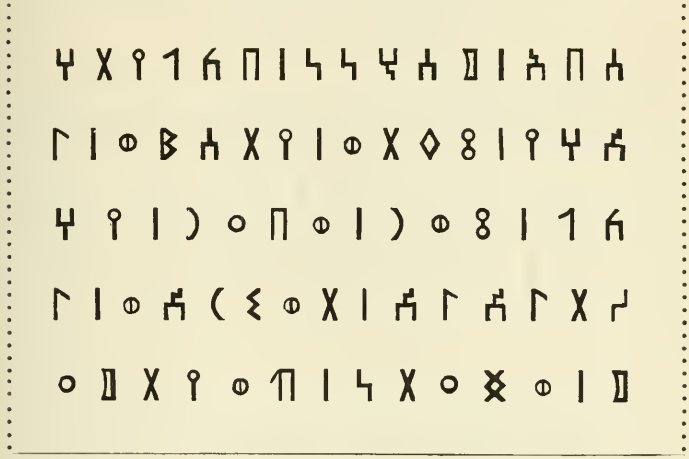
(*a.*)



(*b.*)

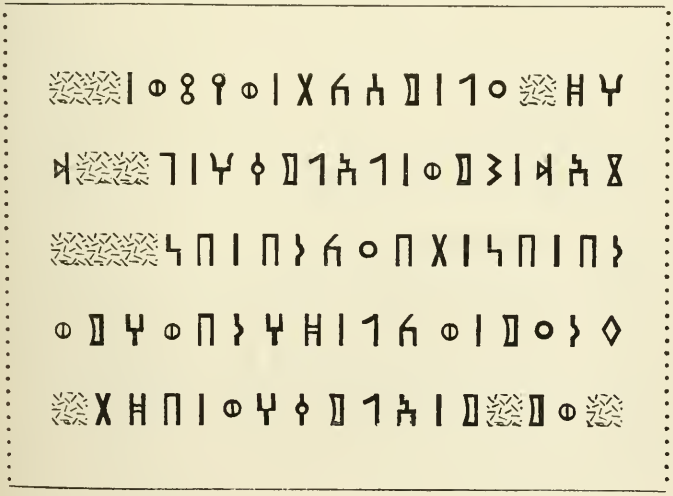


(*c.*)



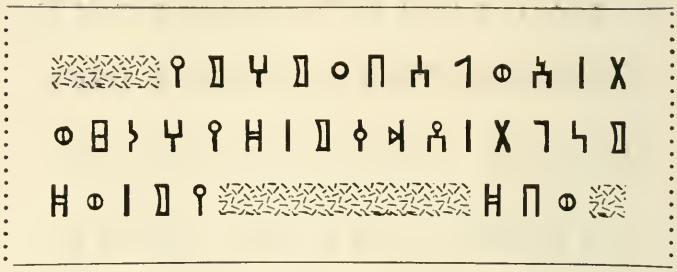
No. XV.—On a Broken Slab of Limestone.

As the characters are very much worn, only those of whose identity there can be no doubt are transcribed.



No. XVI.—On a Fragment of Limestone.

Characters much worn.

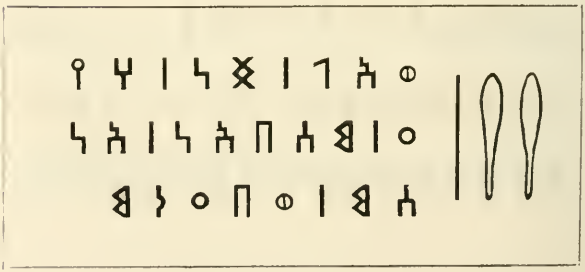


No. XVII.—On a Small Fragment of Limestone.

Characters very legible, long and slim. (Boustrophedon.)

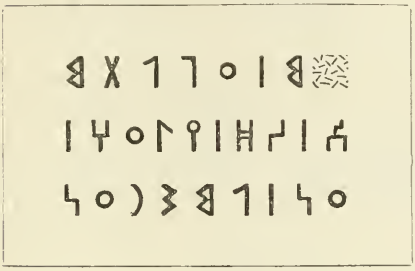
No. XVIII.—On a small Limestone Slab.

Perfect.



No XIX.—On a Fragment of Limestone.

(Boustrophedon.)



Note.—Although it is my intention to defer submitting a full translation of the inscriptions which I have discovered until a commentary and vocabulary of the Sabæan dialect, which I have in preparation, is completed, there are one or two points to which I should like to call attention in the preceding transcripts, as they serve to confirm the accuracy of some of M. Halévy's translations, lately published in the "Journal Asiatique." One is the use of the verb 𐩠𐩺𐩲 in No. XVIII, which is the causative of a verb equivalent to the Arabic هيع, *res effusa fluxit*, and which means in Sabæan, *to provide with water*, or *to construct a receptacle for water;* whence the noun 𐩣𐩠𐩺𐩲, *a tank* or *reservoir* ("Journal Asiatique," vii serie, tom. iv, pp. 498, 565). In the case of my inscription, the receptacle is called a 𐩣𐩪𐩨𐩱, from a verb equivalent to the Arabic سبا, of which the modern signification is limited to *drawing wine.* Here, however, the word clearly denotes a trough or tank for holding water, probably placed by the roadside as a charitable act, for the use of 𐩱𐩬𐩪𐩣𐩵𐩨𐩲𐩧𐩣, *human beings and camels*, or as we should say, *man and beast.* 𐩨𐩲𐩧 is the Arabic بعير, the common word for camel at the present day among the tribes in the vicinity of Aden, and it occurs in juxtaposition, 𐩫𐩡𐩵𐩻𐩵𐩧𐩵𐩨𐩲𐩧, *every bullock and camel*, in the tripartite inscription, No. XIV *c*, line 3. The final 𐩣 in 𐩱𐩬𐩪𐩣 and 𐩨𐩲𐩧𐩣 is the ordinary masculine plural in Sabæan.

Another receptacle for water we find in No. XIX. 𐩣𐩦𐩧𐩲 is the modern Arabic مشرعية, a *place where cattle are watered.* The final 𐩬 in 𐩣𐩪𐩨𐩪𐩬 and 𐩣𐩦𐩧𐩲𐩬 is the Sabæan enclitic demonstrative.

Again, the correctness of M. Halévy's reading of 𐩧𐩦𐩥 in the phrases 𐩧𐩦𐩥𐩵𐩪𐩡𐩣𐩤𐩠 (l.c. p. 564) and 𐩧𐩦𐩥𐩵𐩩𐩵𐩨𐩣𐩧𐩬 (p. 583), is confirmed by the phrase 𐩪𐩧𐩦𐩥𐩩𐩵𐩡𐩪𐩡𐩩𐩬, which occurs in the tripartite inscription No. XIV *c*, line 4. The word is here in the plural feminine, "priestesses."

HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. IV. DECEMBER, 1875. PART 2.

INSCRIPTION OF KING NASTOSENEN.

Translated by G. MASPERO.

Read 5th January, 1875.

THIS stele was found at Dongolah by Dr. Lepsius, and brought to Berlin, where it is now preserved. It has been published in the "Denkmäler aus Ægypten und Æthiopien," Abth. v, bl. 16.

King Nastosenen is represented twice on it; first, accompanied by the "Royal sister, royal mother, queen of Kush Pelkha," who "shakes her sistrum to thee"; he "offers two necklaces to his father," the god "Amen Râ, lord of the seats of both worlds, residing in Thebes, the giver of life, stability, power all, like unto Râ for ever." Behind the queen is the legend, "She has given the crown of Napita, ..." The god saith: "I give thee all the countries, the foreign lands, the barbarians collected under thy two sandals, like unto Râ, for ever." In the second picture the same king offers two necklaces to "Amen of Napita, residing in [*Dû*]-*uâb*, the great god in the land Kens, that he may give all life and power for ever. The god saith: "I give thee life and power all, all stability, all health, all joy; I give thee

the years of time, the rising upon the seat of Hor, for ever." Behind the king stands "the royal sister, royal wife, queen of Egypt, Sekhmakh." In both scenes the king is styled "King of Upper and Lower Regions, Râkaânkh, son of the Sun, Nastosenen."

Some parts of the inscription have been summarily analysed by Dr. Brugsch, in his "Geographische Inschriften," t. I, pp. 163, 164.

Obverse of the Tablet.

1. In the eighth year, the 9th of the first month of Per (1), under the Hor, the powerful bull, the love of the cycle of Gods, risen in Napita, Lord of diadems, Son of the Sun, Nastosenen; the Hor, the bull who tramps his foes under his sandals, (2)
2. the great lion . . . .,[1] the thoughtful, the maintainer of the whole earth, the Son of Amen, [victorious by] his great sword, [the conqueror] who widens his boundaries over all lands . . . . . ,[2] the [true] seed of Gods, the leveller of whatever is high, the worshipped by the [whole] earth,
3. Lord of the Gods, instructing all beings (?)[3] like Thot; coming to build the temples of the whole earth like Pet,[4] the giver of life for all creatures, even like unto Amen, son of Isi; crushing whoever affronts the Gods,
4. the Child, protector of the world, Son of the Sun. Nastosenen, Son of Amen, praised even in Heaven: I bid ye know the King of Upper and Lower countries Râ-ka-ânkh, Son of the Sun, Lord of both Lands, Nastosenen, everliving, that he saith [saying: When] I [was] the *Gracious Child*[5] in Be[roua].[6] He
5. summoned me, (3) Amen of Napita, my gracious father, saying: "Come! I bid them summon the twice gra-

[1] An indistinct word. [2] Two words wanting.

[3] An unknown sign of uncertain value: the translation of the word is given conjecturally. [4] Heaven.

[5] A common title for *Hereditary Chief, Crown-prince.*

[6] The *Meroé* of classical geography, near *Shendy.*

cious king who is in Be[roua (4)]." Then I spake unto them, saying: "Come, [let us go]

6. "and seek for him amidst us, to show our [zeal]. (5)" They spoke unto me, saying: "No, we will not go [seeking for him] amidst us. (6) [For] Thou art his *Gracious Child* whom he loveth, Amen of Napita,

7. thy gracious father. (7)" I left: the morning (8), [I] arrived at Astamouras,[1] I put on my kingly garment; (9) when they heard it those who live in Napita, (10) they said: "He

8. "is the Judge sovereign of all Lands. (11)" I went away: the morning I reached Taheh,[2] which is the great Lion, the vineyard planted by King Piânkhi-Aler, while my hand was [stretched out]

9. upon the spot to relieve [from its distress] the temple of Amen, (?)[3] they went [to the place] which [I was in], the men and the priestess of Amen of Napita, with three of the female denizens of the town and all the great men and beings (?) who were there;

10. they spake unto me, (12) saying: "He layeth down before thee the Sovereignty of the Land [of Kens],[4] Amen of Napita, thy gracious father." Said the mouths all: "He shall land at Dongoul." (13)

11. I spake unto them, saying: "Go down the river, (14) and be zealous in your praises of Amen of Napita, my gracious father. Go ye, and going, humble yourselves to do [honour] to A-

12. men of Napita." I proceeded [by water] to the landing place, crossing [the river] before the house of Râ. (15) I mounted (16) a great horse, I reached the great temple. They

13. lay down before me the great men (17) and priestess of Amen: Then they shouted for me with all their

[1] It is a town near the *Astaboras* of Grecian writers; perhaps the *Primis Major* of Ptolemy.

[2] A town, of site unknown, between *Napita* (*Gebel-Barkal*) and *Dengoul* (*Dongolah*), if not a part of Napita itself.

[3] The sense is doubtful, owing to a lacune at the end of line 8.

[4] *n Kens* wanting in the original.

mouths. I went up, I opened the great door: they did [honour], I did [honour], while

14. they were zealous in their praises of me, the magistrates and great chiefs who live in the Ap, in the Golden House.[1] (18) I said unto him: "O Amen of Napita, my gracious father, the being (?) . . . . . [2]

15. "to me, Amen of Napita, (19) my mouth. May Amen of Napita, my gracious father, give me the kingdom of the Land of Kens, the royal helmet of King Hor-si-atef,

16. "the valour (20) of King Piânkhi-Aler." The third month of Sha, on a great day, I caused Amen of Napita, my gracious father, to rise: going out of the great temple, (21) He gave me the kingdom of the Land of Kens, Aloa,[3]

17. the Barbarians, both strips of land on both banks of the Nile, the four quarters of earth, (22) saying: "O my gracious creature, like unto Râ!" (23) I said unto him, "O Amen of Napita, the Being (?)! Thou hast

18. "done it for me that all lands, all men, be obedient unto me. Thou summonedst me up in Beroua, and I came to do [honour] unto thee. Grant that the sovereignty of the Land Kens be laid down before me." They

19. did not make him a king, that day. The 24th [they] gave me the sovereignty. There were men fighting with men, offering all kinds of offerings on the way, capering for joy in front of

20. Râ. (24) I reached the spot [of the sacrifice], (25) smote the two bulls, went up [the steps of, and] sat on, the golden throne in the golden Ap, under the shadow of the great royal flabella, that day. Said all men, saying:

21. "He will make all beings happy! Amen of Napita, He gives him the sovereignty l. h. s. of the Land Kens,

[1] That is, in the consecrated ground of the town, in or near the temples.

[2] One-third of the line is wanting.

[3] The Kingdom of *Aloah*, and the town of *Sobah*.

[him] the Son of Sun, Nastosenen; [He grants him] to go up and sit upon the golden throne under the shadow of the great royal flabella, (26)

22. "this day, and he will make a king sit in his place in Beroua." The first month of Sha, the 12th, I went down (27) the river to do [honour] unto Amen of Pakem, my father

23. gracious. I caused Amen of Pakem to rise: coming to me out of the great temple, [he] said, "O my gracious creature, even like unto Râ." He gave me the kingdom

24. of Kens; He gave me both strips of land on both banks of the Nile, Aloa, the Barbarians and his own crushing bow. After He had spoken unto me, speaking unto me, Amen of Napita, my gracious father, I went up and sat up-

25. on the golden throne. I went to do [honour] unto Amen of Pnoubs:[1] going out of the great temple, he gave me the sovereignty of the Land of Kens

26. and his crushing [mace], saying: "O my gracious creature, even like unto Râ!" Going up, I sat upon the golden throne. I went up to do [honour] unto Amen of Napita,

Reverse of the Tablet.

1. my gracious father. The second month of Per, the 19th, [rose]

2. Amen of Napita; going out of the great temple, [He] said: "O my gracious

3. "Phrâ!" [So] He spake unto me, calling me "gracious creature" (?), and then Amen of Pakem, Amen of Pnoubs, the Gods

4. all jumped for joy. Reaching the place of the sacrifice, [I] smote the two bulls, I went down unto the pyramid, and lay wrapped there four nights, and made

[1] Πνούψ of Ptolemy, near *Ouady-Halfá*.

5. all kind of offerings, four days. [Then] going up, He reached the place of the sacrifice, smote the two bulls, [and] entering the temple, sat upon the chair of state in
6. the House of the Golden Wine (?). The 24th, I went up to do [honour] unto Bast of Tel,[1] my gracious mother: (28) She gave me Life, a long and happy old age, Her breast [to suck];
7. She gave it to me in her embrace, a happy life (30); She gave me Her crushing club. I went into Napita, the 29th, I caused
8. Amen of Napita to rise: He gave me the whole of Heaven, the whole of earth, the Nile all, the men all. Going up [I] sat on the golden throne; I caused the four *qema*-s (31) to be done unto thee,
9. Amen of Napita, in Napita, and there were thirty-six men in it. I gave thee three great vessels of brass [full of] incense, four jugs [full of] honey, three ditto of essence,
10. One image of Amen of Paqem-aten in gold, two of Hor in gold, [the three weighing] three *ten*,[2] three scent-bottles of electrum, three vials of electrum, seven cups of electrum, making in all, thirteen [pieces and weighing] one hundred thirty and four *ten*[3]; two great jugs of bronze,
11. thirteen basins of bronze to preserve milk, two bronze mugs for [drinking] beer, six bronze vessels, [six] bronze jugs, six scent-bottles in bronze. I offered thee, Amen-em-ap, in the first month of Sha (?), in a great day, two bullocks
12. and two fine (?) bulls, in all four; two milch-cows (?) and two heifers (?), being four in all; one calf fed with herbs and another sucking, being two in all . . . . . .[4] sixteen bronze *khirolteb*, two bronze *tekhtet*, ten bronze *rob*,
13. two bronze *bâts*, two bronze *ap* (32). Going up like a

[1] A town on the Nile, near Napita; also called *Ter*.

[2] After Chabas' evaluation, 274·14 grammes.

[3] 12214·92 grammes.

[4] Six or seven words wanting.

fleet (?) bull, my bow[men] went to Aloa (?). (33) They made a great slaughter amongst its [men] all, and took the .... ship[1] of the chief; they smote what there was in all his land; (34)

14. All the beasts of burthen (35) and horned cattle (36) which had been spared,[2] [even] those the towns of Kartep the great and Teloureq[3] gave [unto me]. The town of n....ka[4] (37) sent men: there was slaughter [done] amongst them, and there was sparing of life

15. done amongst them, and I cut down all the timber. The town of Tormenmou gave me twelve ....[5] bulls for Amen of Napita and they were brought to Napita. The fourth month

16. of Sha, the 26th, on the birth-day of the Son of the Sun, Nastosenen, the town of Saqsaqdimou gave six out of its bulls for Amen of Napita, my gracious father, and they were led to Napi-

17. ta. The fourth month of Sha, the great day, [being the return of] the day on which the crown had been given unto the Son of the Sun, Nastosenen, people offered unto thee, Amen of Napita, twelve victims (?) with flour (?) and garlands of flowers (?), the people of Kalo-

18. tep the great and Terouleq; people offered unto thee, Amen of Napita, my gracious father, a big lamp from the town of Taqtat; people brought thee .... bulls 400, horned cattle 300, men 200, [for], O Amen of Napi-

19. ta, thy two thighs are prospering, and thy virtue is beneficent; people gave thee, Amen of Napita, the land Reteq in offering of the people of Kasoua,[6] together with poultry (?) and

[1] A mutilated word.

[2] The text appears to be corrupt here. I corrected it after the passages in lines 25, 26, 29, 33.

[3] Perhaps Kartep and Sâteloureq. The site of these towns is unknown to me.

[4] The name of the town has been partially erased.

[5] An illegible word.

[6] Kasoua appears to be the Κασου of Axumitan inscriptions, erroneously printed Καεου in Salt's *Travels* and Bœckh's *Corpus* (t. iii, p. 515), the Khasas

20. female slaves for thee, 110 in all.[1] And again, (38) I sent my bow[men] against the foes in the town of Makhendnen: they smote it and made a great slaughter amongst that which was with the (39)
21. chief of Aïkhentka; taking all the women prisoners, all the beasts of burthen, a deal of gold, bulls 209659, horned cattle 505349, women
22. 2236, *aqit*[2] belonging to the town of Katoldi, 3229; I obliged [the chief] Pekak to give it all unto me. After I had smitten all lands (?), I caused a lamp to be made unto thee, Amen of Napita, with Katol-
23. di twelve of its *aqit;* I made thee two big bronze censers, which I caused to be set up in the Theban temple, Amen of Napita, my gracious father; I offered thee six victims (?) from amongst [the spoils of] Katoldi;
24. I opened the house of the Golden Bull [to put in] the *aqit* belonging to Amen of Napita, my gracious father. And once more again I sent my bow[men] against the hostile lands of Robal and Aka-
25. lkar. I made a great slaughter amongst that which was with the chief of the land of Lobarden; all the gold he had, which was considerable [and even] more than could be counted, bulls 203246, horned cattle 603108, all the women whom
26. they spared from the rest, the chief gave it to me, [for], O Amen of Napita, my gracious father, thy khopesh is crushing and thy counsel is beneficent. And once more again, I sent the multitude
27. [of my soldiers] against the hostile lands of Arrosa. I made a great slaughter, I made, amongst those who were with the chief of the town of Mesha in the land Abeskhent, taking all women prisoners, all the beasts of burthen, *ten* of gold 1212,[3] bulls 22110,

of Maçoudi (Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, t. ii, p. 155) between Souâkin and the Tacazzé; to-day, Gash or Khas.

[1] Lit., "with thy poultry and thy women."

[2] I do not know what these *aqit* are.

[3] 109752·56 grammes.

28. all the women, horned cattle 45200; the chief gave it [all] to me, which was all he possessed (?), [for], O Amen of Napita, my gracious father, thy name is right gracious and thy virtue is beneficent. And once more again, I
29. sent my bow[men] against the hostile land of Makhi-sherkhert. I made a great slaughter, and the chief gave me from what was his whatever had been spared, all [the men], all the women. He gave it unto me, and I
30. took bulls 203146, horned cattle 33400, [for], O Amen of Napita, my gracious father, thy *khopesh* is crushing, and whatever thou dost for me is greatly magnificent. Once more a-
31. gain, I sent the multitude of my soldiers against the hostile land of Mikhentka. The foe made a stand against me in the town of Nehàsarsar. I struck a blow against it, I made a great slaughter:
32. I made [the same] against those who were with the chief of Tamakhi. I took all their wives, all their horses, gold [to the value of] *ten* 2000,[1] bulls 35330, horned cattle 555
33. 26. whatever was spared amongst them; for, Amen of Napita, my gracious father, giveth me all the lands: His *khopesh* is crushing, His virtue is beneficent,
34. His names are greatly beneficent, and He caused me to act, Amen of Napita, my gracious father. And once more again, they upset (40) the things of Amen residing in Paqem-A-
35. ten. I sent the multitude of my soldiers ..... the prowess (?) of king. l. h. s. Aspalut ..... [I sent my bowmen] against the hostile land of Madi,[2] and it gave to them
36. [all] its things. My great prowess (?) which my gracious father Amen of Napita had given unto me, my gracious father Amen of Paqem-aten gave it unto me;

[1] 182740 grammes.

[2] The so-called Maddi of the Horsiatef inscription.

37. He said unto me, my gracious father Amen of Paqemten, saying, "I give thee my bow and the strength which is in it, and my valour. I give thee all hostile lands in captivity,
38. under thy two sandals." And once more again, the foes of Madi (41) robbed the things of the estates of Bast residing in Ter, [which had been conquered] by the prowess (?) of King
39. Aspalut. My prowess (?) came: she granted it to me, Bast residing in Ter, my gracious mother; she gave me her . . . . . greatly gracious, a happy old age, the light
40. of her excellent virtues, for, thy Majesty it is, thy great splendour it is that made me, O Amen of Napita, my gracious father, that
41. made my prowess (?) excellent, and my *khopesh*[1] crushing, truly, O Amen of Napita my gracious father, the being that . . . . . .
42. . . . . .

[1] Lit., "his *khopesh*."

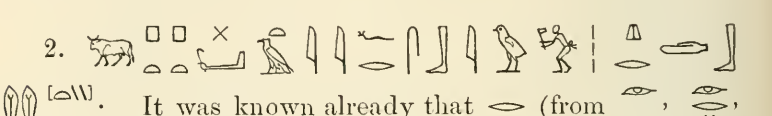
Notes.

The tablet of Nastosenen is not written like Piânkhi's, Nuat Miamoun's and Aspalut's texts, in the conventional style of Egyptian epigraphy: the inscription thereon is mixed from the beginning to the end with a great many forms peculiar to the dialect of Ethiopia. Since the days of early colonisation by the great sovereigns of the XIIth Dynasty, and even since the less remote times of Thotmes III and Ramses II, the pure Egyptian first spoken by the settlers had been sadly corrupted, both by a slow but steady infiltration of alien words and by the natural work of years. So long as Ethiopia was a part of Egypt, or remained in direct relations with Egypt, the priesthood of Napata kept intact the formulas of classical Theban language: Tahraqa's or Piânkhi's deeds are told in the same phrases and with nearly the same words as Thotmes's or Seti's conquests. But immediately after Nuat Miamoun's retreat, when communications between the lands to the north and the lands to the south of the first cataract became scarce and difficult enough to change the province of To-Qens and vice-royalty of Koush into the distant and almost fabulous kingdom of Napata, the literary and grammatical traditions began to be put aside, and soon ended in being utterly forgotten: new words drawn from the popular stock of words filled up the place of the old unintelligible vocables, new idioms superseded the turns and shades of expressions in which the scribes, *beaux-esprits* of Thebes, had delighted hundreds of years before.

The Demotic inscriptions of Candace are mute till now: Nastosenen's and Horsiatef's records are the only monuments of the Ethiopian dialect known to me. It would be difficult to gather, from two texts only, the elements for a grammatical outline of Ethiopian dialect. I must content myself with explaining as well as possible some of the new

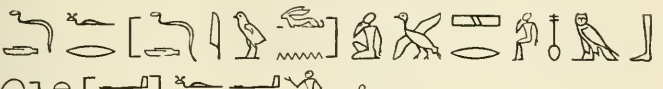
forms I have been able to find in the stele of Nastosenen, leaving to others the care of correcting and completing my work.

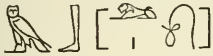
1. In [hieroglyphs], *the first month of Per*, [hieroglyph] is evidently written for [hieroglyph]. Cf. line 8, [hieroglyphs] instead of [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] instead of [hieroglyphs], and [hieroglyphs] instead of [hieroglyphs].



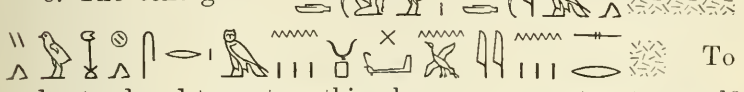
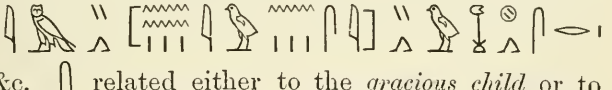
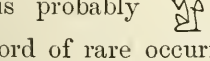
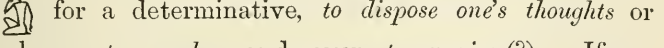
2. [hieroglyphs]. It was known already that [hieroglyph] (from [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs], *facere*) was used frequently to build the causative or intensive form of the verbs: thus [hieroglyphs] is found concurrently with [hieroglyphs] and [hieroglyphs] from [hieroglyphs] *inclinare, admovere.* Phrases in which it is used to form substantive nouns are to this day peculiar to the Ethiopic dialect. Besides [hieroglyphs] ⲧⲉϥ ⲣ̄ⲥⲱⲃⲉ, we find, line 6: [hieroglyphs] ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲡⲉϥⲣ̄ϣⲉⲣⲉⲛ ⲛⲟϥⲣ, and line 7, [hieroglyphs] ⲥⲱⲧ̄ⲙ̄ϥ ⲣ̄ⲱⲙⲉⲣ ⲙ ⲛⲁⲡⲓⲧⲁ; which phrases I have transcribed in Coptic characters to show that I consider the [hieroglyph] to be identical with the Coptic ⲣ̄, ⲉⲣ. I think, but I would not affirm, that the [hieroglyph] of such phrases as (line 5) [hieroglyphs], *He caused me to be called*, (line 8) [hieroglyphs], *He governs all earth*, is not the preposition [hieroglyph] (Coptic ⲉ) of the old conjugation, but the ⲣ̄ of ⲣ̄ⲛⲟϥⲣⲉ, ⲣ̄ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲥ, [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs].

It must be said, once for all, that in Ethiopian texts has exactly the value of the old Egyptian , and *vice versâ*, the sense of .

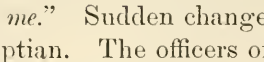
3.  &c.

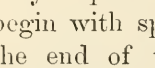
4.  .

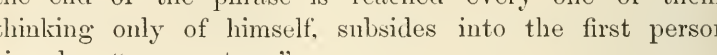
5. The text gives:

 To understand and to restore this phrase, one must put oneself into the spirit of Ethiopic *etiquette*. The priests ot Ammon send from Napita to Meroë to call in the name of God the *Gracious Child* who dwells in that town. The *gracious child*, being no other than Prince Nastosenen, feigns not to understand that the call is intended for him, and addresses his subordinates with the half-broken formula. They answer, as in duty bound, that *he* is the twice gracious king whom Ammon loves. By the help of their answer, I restore the end of the line:  , &c. related either to the *gracious child* or to the word king, is not the feminine pronoun , but the masculine for . The last half of the phrase is of doubtful meaning. The lost character after is probably for Egyptian ; but  is a word of rare occurrence. It seems to signify *to dispose* (with for a determinative, *to dispose one's thoughts* or *words*), hence *to resolve*, and even *to praise* (?). If so,  might be translated "Let us manifest (lit. *open*) our resolutions," or perhaps. "our zeal."

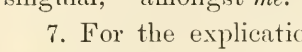
6. "*We* will not go [to search] amongst *me*." Sudden changes of pronouns are very frequent in Egyptian. The officers of King Nastosenen begin with speaking collectively "*We* will not," and before the end of the phrase is reached every one of them, thinking only of himself, subsides into the first person singular, "amongst *me*."

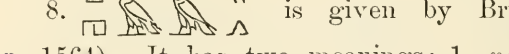
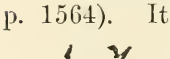
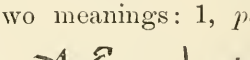
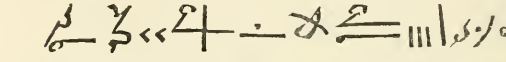
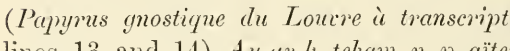
7. For the explication of the form  see *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, t. i, p. 327 note 1.

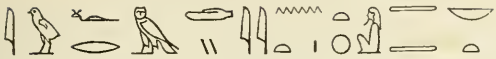
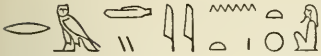
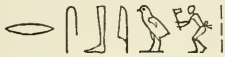
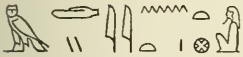
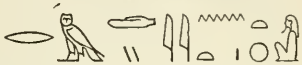
8.  is given by Brugsch (Dictionary, p. 1564). It has two meanings: 1, *pellere*, *pulsare*, *pede*,



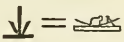
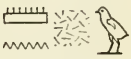
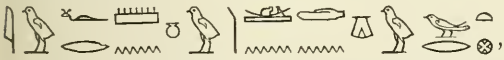
(*Papyrus gnostique du Louvre à transcriptions grecques*, pl. v, lines 13 and 14) *Au-ar-k teham n p aïten n rat-tu-k*, Pulsas terram pede tuo; 2, hence, *abire*, *proficisci*, as is the case here.

9.  The lion passant has often the value of (Brugsch, Dict., p. 1705). is an ideographical variant of (Brugsch, Dict., p. 1705 and 1358) *involvere*, *involvere sese*. I do not know the precise meaning of : it must be a kind of garment, perhaps the great royal cloak of the Ethiopic kings.

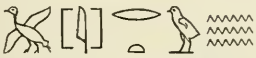
10.  The subject of  *heard that*, is  which is built after the fashion of  The word is borrowed from a Semitic root which has been preserved in the Arabic عمر *coluit*, *incoluit*.  are "the citizens of Napita."

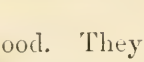
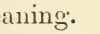
11.  . I think  is probably identical in regard of the form to ,  . As for  it is מְדִינָה (مَدِينَة) *a province, a town,* from דָּן *to judge, to govern:—*  ⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲇⲓⲛⲧ̄, seems to signify "to govern, to judge" all earth.

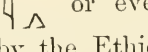
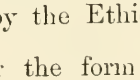
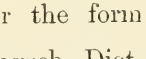
12.

13. . The sign is a rectified form of the hieratic  : thus we may restore instead of  "May he land!" or "he will land." must be the name of a place, though the determinative be wanting by some inadvertence of the scribe. Such omissions are by no means uncommon at the end of a line. At the end of line 16 we have for the of line 24. The whole phrase must be read  , *He will land at Dengour.* is old *Dongolah,* where the stele of King Nastosenen has been found.

14. .

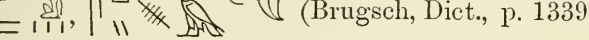
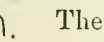
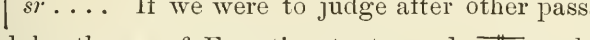
15. Read  for . The subsequent characters want some explication to be

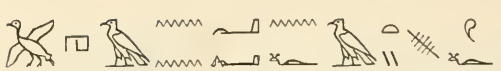
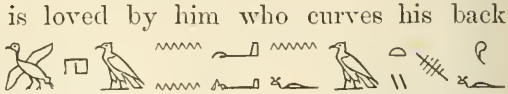
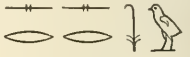
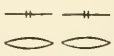
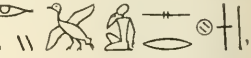
correctly understood. They are written  . I take to be the ideograph of , or some other verb of the same meaning. would be totally unintelligible unless we had further a phrase in which it occurs as the determinative of *versus, adversus:*  *dancing, dancing to the face of Ra, before Râ.* or must be evidently intended for the usual determinative of or . The meaning of the whole phrase must be therefore: "I proceeded to lit., *at the spot of*) the landing-place of the Nile, crossing [the river] before the temple of Râ."

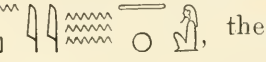
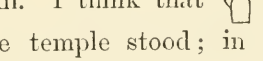
16. , or even is the verb of motion generally used by the Ethiopic scribe. It has been found only once under the form in old Egyptian monuments (Brugsch, Dict., p. 1162). It is the Coptic ϵϵ *transire, transgredi.* We have here the compound , written otherwise (l. 13) *ire supra, to ascend;* and further (Obv. l. 4) *ire infra, to descend.* In compound verbs of that form, the subject is either inserted between the root and the preposition, or put immediately after the preposition, as in   (l. 26) *I went up to do honour unto Amen of Napita,* and  (l. 6) *I went up to do honour unto Bast.*

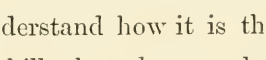
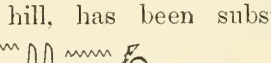
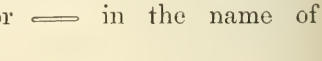
17. The form is very curious, as being brought to triliteration by intercalation of . The inserted dental is sometimes a as in

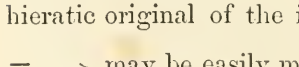
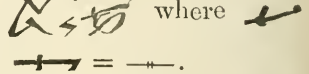
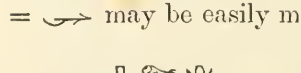
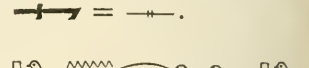
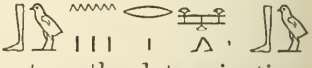
instead of , but commonly a : *men* for , (Brugsch, Dict., p. 1339) for (Id., p. 1217), (Id., p. 1344) for , (Id., p. 1386) for , and many others which I have cited elsewhere.

18.  The chief difficulty of the phrase lies with *sr* .... If we were to judge after other passages would be the of Egyptian texts, and should be read *srχ*: I take it, however, to be the sign of reduplication or or *sep sen, bis*, *ser* (*sep sen*) must be read *srsr*, which is the quadriliteral form of the above quoted . As for , it is to be found frequently in our stele (B, lines 6-7) , (B, line 26) , (B, line 28) , where the variants prove it to be meant for . Indeed, it is only the common hieratic form of slightly rectified to suit the style of hieroglyphic characters. is the same as . Now preceded by the possessive is one of those nouns formed by the suffixion of the pronouns ,  , or masculine to a root. In old Egyptian each part of the compound retains its own value, so that the root, although turned into a noun, keeps its verbal power and remains able to take a regime: 

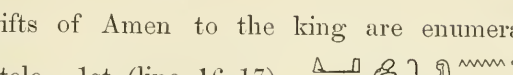
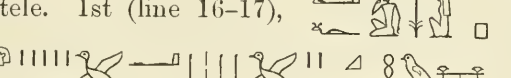
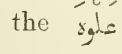
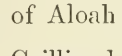
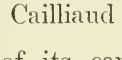
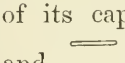
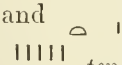
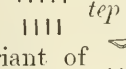
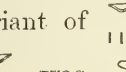
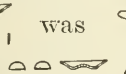
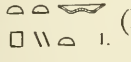
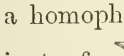
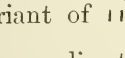
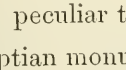
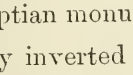
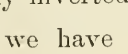
 (*Pap. Anastasi* II, pl. V, line 1), he is loved by him who curves his back [before him].  is a noun The: *he has curved*, with a regime *his back.*  is formed with the root  and the pronoun : [*the*] *he has praised* or *it has been praised:*  , *doing my it is praised, doing my praise.*

19. In the variant compared with  , the sign is evidently a homophone of *to, ta.* Now the temple of Amen of Napata was situated upon a hill called *du-nab*, the Sacred Hill. I think that is a picture of the hill upon which the temple stood; in which case it would be easy to understand how it is that *a hill*, variant of *tu, du* a hill, has been substituted for in the name of  .

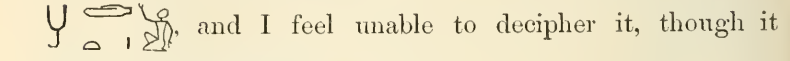
20.  is evidently a mistake of the Ethiopic scribe for  : it must have originated in the hieratic original of the inscription  where = may be easily mistaken for = .

21.  is identical with  Indeed, we have but to turn the determinatives  into hieratic to feel convinced that  is only a variant of  . The engraver seeing , and perhaps

not knowing how to transcribe it, rectified a little the hieratic and transformed into .

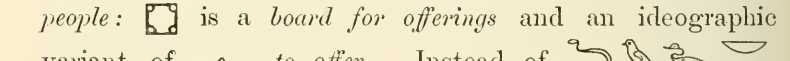
22. The gifts of Amen to the king are enumerated twice in this stele. 1st (line 16–17),  ; 2nd (line 23–24),  . As I have observed already, the of line 16 is the of line 24: the engraver forgot to put the determinative after . The name of the country has been preserved in the علوة *Aloah* of Arabian geographers. The kingdom of Aloah lay along the banks of the Bahr-el-Azrek, and Cailliaud found two sphinxes of red granite in the ruins of its capital صوبة. Aloah was the south part of Kush, and  *To-qens*, the Nubia, the north part of it.  *tep* [*paut*] must be the same, and is a dialectic variant of  . In Ethiopic, the phonetic value of  was  (A, line 24),  (B, line 20-29),  (B, line 24),  (B, line 37):  being thus a homophone of  ,  becomes only a phonetic variant of  . The question is: Was the reading  peculiar to Ethiopian people, or is it to be extended to Egyptian monuments? Ethiopian people seem to have frequently inverted the order of letters in alliterative words; thus we have (B, line 8)  *tep*, *heaven* for

pet. It is highly probably that the Ethiopian is only an inversion of the Egyptian , Coptic ⲫⲓⲧ, ⲫⲏⲧⲧⲉ.

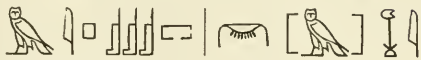
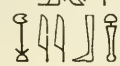
23.  .

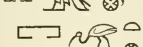
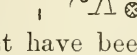
I have not found elsewhere the which begins the word , and I feel unable to decipher it, though it occurs very frequently in this stele.

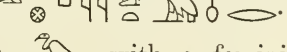
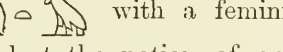
24. I read . The group is for or *people:* is a *board for offerings* and an ideographic variant of , *to offer.* Instead of , the text gives , the first sign being a kind of goose holding a bud of lotus. The determinative proves that the whole group must be read *zewàu.* I think that is not a legitimate variant, but only a fault of transcription. written in hieratic is : now there are many birds which assume in hieratic a form not unlike that of , the , the , the , &c. It is highly probable that the engraver took for a bird holding a lotus-bud, making a new sign of what ought to have been . At all events, the sense *offerings* is certain.

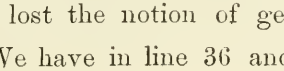
25.  . I do not know the reading of , "the spot of sacrifice." is only

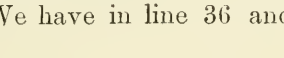
an erroneous form of article derived from hieratic . Line 35 p.f. there is for , owing to a confusion between = and .

26. Correct  . The last word  is lit. "a shade."

27. or is called and  in the stele of Horsiatef (line 20, 160). It must have been situated between Dongolah and  the *Πνούψ* of Ptolemy (Brugsch, *G. Ins.*, t. i, p. 104), but I have not been able to identify its exact site.

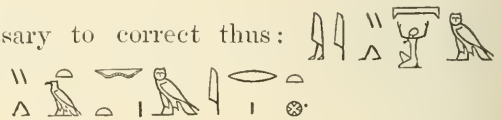
28. . It ought to have been  with a feminine article; but the Ethiopians had lost the notion of gender as well as that of number. We have in line 36 another instance of  .

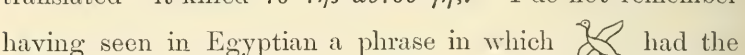
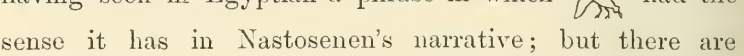
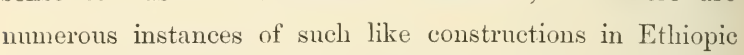
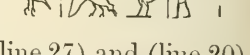
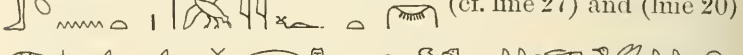
29.  . The sign or (cf. p. 219, note 17) is used here as in Egyptian Demotic texts for feminine . For the explanation of that gift, see the numerous wall-pictures in which goddesses are represented suckling a king, and giving him, with their milk, life and power.

30.  : "She gave it to me, in [her] embrace, the good life" The unknown determinative is only a hieratic form of the usual or .

31.
I cannot guess of what kind the four *kemā* were, in each of which nine men were, unless the scribe has designated by it the *mats de cocagne*, which are not unfrequently seen in the representations of Ptolemaïc times.

32. For the names of vases and other metallic objects, see Lepsius, *Die Metalle*, p. 100-101.

33. It is necessary to correct thus: 

34. The sign is another form for , and the whole passage must be translated "it killed *τὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ γῆς*." I do not remember having seen in Egyptian a phrase in which had the sense it has in Nastosenen's narrative; but there are numerous instances of such like constructions in Ethiopic texts. Thus (line 24): 
 (cf. line 27) and (line 20)

In the last phrase, the possessive pronoun takes the final , (cf. 
 &c., and governs its regimen by means of the preposition .

35. , var. , is the prototype of Coptic ⲧⲉⲃⲛⲏ, ⲡⲓ, *jumentum;* pl. ⲧⲉⲃⲛⲱⲟⲩⲓ, *jumenta, quadrupeda*, not to be found in Brugsch's Dictionary.

36. . Correct .

37. . Correct .

38. is for on, *rursus, iterum.* Translated into hieratic becomes , which accounts for the confusion between and .

39. is exactly the form of the Theban article ⲡⲉ, as well as is the exact form of ⲡⲉ *to be*, and of ⲩⲉⲣⲉ. The old at the end of words becomes ⲉ in middle Egyptian and in Coptic.

40. Read: instead of .

41. Read instead of .

ON THE DATE OF THE NATIVITY.

Letter addressed to Mr. Bosanquet by Dr. Lauth (Munich).

Read 2nd February, 1875.

Dear Sir,

You have treated in these same Transactions[1] most interestingly, and as it seems to me, most successfully, upon the date of Christ's nativity. As this subject concerns not only our belief as Christians, but also our science as chronologists, you will not deem it superfluous that I shall endeavour to afford several new points of view, in order to corroborate your result, tending to fix the year 3 before our common era as the very year of Christ's nativity.

I. This date is borne out as the true one by the simple computation that the Roman indictions, even in our own calendar down to this day, are reckoned by the addition of 3 years to the number of the current year. Thus, for instance, we obtain the corresponding indictional cipher of 1874 by dividing $\frac{1877}{15}$, making 125 cycles, remainder 2, and this number 2 forms the signature of our present year 1874. Hence it follows that the pentekaidekaëteric period must have begun originally just with the year 3 before our era. If it be objected that the indictions really, as a practical cycle, begin with 312, in the reign of *Constantine*, it must be borne in mind that the first general enrolment of the great Roman empire issued from *Augustus*, and that *Quirinus*, as governor of Syria according to St. Luke, was the executor of the imperial edict, during his governorship from -4 to $+1$, as is demonstrated by Dr. Zumpt's valuable essay. This

[1] "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," 1872, p. 93.

enrolment (*ἀπογραφή*) of Quirinus' is styled *πρώτη*, even as much with respect to his second *ἀπογραφή* in A.D. 9—which was a partial one, and only relating to Archelaus and his province—as because it was the *first* of all, the model of the subsequent enrolments for military or census purposes. In the same manner as we in our calendars continue to enregister the Roman indictions, without making any use of them, so they may have been latent or dropped between Augustus and Constantine; this omission is owing to circumstances either unknown to us for the want of sources, or to the intrusion of other cycles during the above-mentioned interval. We call in German this indictional number "Roemer-Zins-Zahl" = *Romanorum censualis numerus*, and, indeed, the existence of this entry, even in our calendars, warrants us that the primordial census happened in the year 3 before our common era.

II. When Dionysius Exiguus in A.D. 525, 200 years after the decree of the Nicæan Council (A.D. 325) concerning the Passover-feast, fixed for the first time the Christian era, he chose this very year 525, just because[1] with it the 35th indictional cycle expired ($\frac{525}{15} = 35$), and he thus indicated expressly that our Lord's nativity coincided with the beginning of an indiction, viz., he acknowledged the temporal concurrence of the Virgin Mary's delivery with Augustus' edict, carried out by Quirinus. If so, it is the more to be wondered at that he made a blunder of 3 years, for, by all we know of him, he was a learned man, who must have had knowledge of the true epoch of the indictions.

I am going to explain this notory contradiction, and to prove that Dionysius' error originated not from ignorance, but from a current system of the Alexandrian mathematicians and chronologists.

Let us begin with *Theon*. This very accurate astronomer fixes the epoch of Menophrès or the Sothiac period as happening 1705 years before 384 A.D. Hence it has been generally concluded that the year 1322 before Christ was the

[1] It may be that also the beginning of a new *Apis-period* with anno I æræ Dionysianæ co-operated in this determinate fixation, so that our *jubilees* coincide with the 25-ëteric cycle of the sacred Bull. See further under VI.

first of this cycle. But, on the other side, our astronomical, yea, the simplest mathematical calculations, prove strikingly that the 1st Thoth vague coincided with the 20th July during the tetraëterid 1325, 1324, 1323, 1322. Theon, then, has chosen the last or fourth year (when the intercalation was made) of the tetraëterid instead of the first.

The same difference of 3 years is met with in Censorinus, who states that in the 100th year before 238 the dogstar rose on the 20th July. This is 139 A.D., but we find that this coincidence took place during the whole tetraëterid 136, 137, 138, 139 A.D. It is evident that once more the fourth year is chosen for the first.

Another instance is afforded by an Arabic writer,[1] who counts the first regnal year of Abtinus (Antoninus) as the 886th of the era of Bochtenasr (Nabonassar). The latter part of this year 886 belongs to 139 A.D. His warrant is Ptolemy.

After having observed this constant system of Alexandrian astronomers or chronologists, I was led to the conviction that this manner of reckoning was owing to *Egyptian* sources, and that it was derived from an astronomico-calendaric method connected with the apparition of a memorable *star*.

In reading this word you will have guessed instantly that I am going to speak on the celebrated *star of the Magians;* but I intend not to treat this matter at large or to an especial purpose. This star has been deemed a *meteor*, rising suddenly and vanishing again after a short delay. Others have thought of a *comet* with a longer apparition. Kepler and Ideler have identified it with the *conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter*, happening 747 A.U.C., or 7 B.C. Kepler was himself an eye-witness of such a conjunction in 1603; in 1604 it was associated with Mars, and there also appeared a new *fixed star*, "Stella nova in pede Serpentarii." Why should there not have been at the same time a memorable coincidence, for instance, in the Egyptian calendar, so that the Magi of the East, led by the apparition of an extraordinary phenomenon, went to Jerusalem in search of the new-born

[1] Ideler, "Handbuch der Chronologie," ii, 627.

"King of the Jews"? I think such a plurality of heavenly signs would not be ill suited to the chronological centre of mankind.

III. It is generally allowed and acknowledged that the birth of the Messias was thought of in connection with a peculiar *star*. When in the time of Hadrian, 120 A.D., a Jewish pretender arose, with the professed intention to resuscitate the Davidic kingdom and the political power of the Jews, he assumed the name *Bar-Cochab* (*Βαρ-χοχεβᾶς*), "*Son of the Star*." This presumptuous title was converted, after his defeat, into Bar-Cozab, "Son of the Lie," and Jerusalem levelled with the soil was called Aelia (Hadriani). I am now going to establish that even in the time of the first overthrow under Vespasianus and Titus, the idea of an extraordinary star prevailed. Suetonius tells that it was a general opinion in the whole world, "in fatis esse, ut (homines) Judæâ profecti, rerum potirentur," and that Vespasianus, because he had vanquished Galba and Vitellius, after his starting up from his province of Judæa, referred this *omen* to his own person; indeed, he was styled, like the other emperors, "the god," "*pe nuter*," by the Egyptians. But it deserves especial notice that this word *nuter*, "god," is found expressed *by a star* (✶) *for the first time in the cartouche of Vespasianus*. We see therein a confirmation not only of Suetonius's report, but also of the fact that Vespasian annexed to himself what was meant originally as an attribute of the Messias. Hence we could easily infer that really an extraordinary apparition of a *star* had happened at the birth of the Messias.

Now let us consider the Egyptian calendar, consisting of the so-called wandering (vague) year and the fixed (leap) Sothiac year. These double forms prevailed not only amongst the astronomers, but also in civil life, notwithstanding the fixation performed in 25 B.C., under Augustus.[1] Thus, for instance, a Græco-demotic inscription[2] is dated,

[1] Cf. my treatise on this subject, entitled "Die Schalttage des Euergetes und Augustus" (The Intercalary Days of Euergetes and Augustus) in the Trans. of the Royal Academy of Munich, February, 1874.

[2] Cf. Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache u. Alterth, 1872, p. 31.

"year 17th of Tiberius, the 18th Tybi of the Ionian = 1st Mechir of the Egyptian." Both these dates correspond to the 13th January, 31 A.D. Then, if we make the application of this double calendar backwards to the temporal horizon of Christ's birth, we find *that the dogstar, or Sirius* (*Sothis*), *rose heliacally on the* 1*st Mesori vague during the tetraëterid* 5, 4, 3, 2 *before our era.* I shall prove in a larger work of mine ("Sothis") which I am now composing, that the Egyptians noticed the minor coincidences as well as the chief ones when the rising of Sirius coincided with the first day of the first month (Thoth vague). It is not required to enter here into a more especial investigation; it may suffice to cite the great authority of the Tanitic decree, where it is stated that the coincidence of the rising dogstar (*ἄστρον τὸ τῆς Ἴσιος*) with the first day of Payni vague (*ἄγεται τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ παῦνὶ μηνὸς*) caused the fixation of Euergetes I.

Thus, then, it must be considered as a proved fact that the learned Egyptians noticed the apparition of the most splendid dogstar in the tetraëterid 5, 4, 3, 2 as a very memorable one. Now we conceive (better, I think, than before) why Herod, that jealous and cruel tyrant, when he ordered the innocent babes to be slaughtered, asked from the Magians (St. Matthew ii, 7) the *accurate time* of the appearance of the star, and why he slaughtered the Bethlehemitic children, *ἀπὸ διετοῦς καὶ κατωτέρω* (ii, 16), "*a bimatu* et infra." For, indeed, according to your thesis and my additional proofs, that 3 before our era = birth of Christ, there were *two years* of the tetraëterid elapsed, in which the heliacal rising of the dogstar had corresponded to the 1st Mesori vague. I think *no other hypothesis accounts so well for the* διετοῦς or *bimatus* as mine, and we have thus found *the very source of Herod's question and the Magians' answer.*

IV. This question of Herod's about the exact time of the appearance of the star was not made without a good reason, concerning, as it did, the birth of a new *king: ποῦ ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, "Where is the (new-) born King of the Jews?" the Magians themselves had asked. This character as a "King of the Jews" remained, in fact,

attached intimately to the Messias till His death, the death on the cross, with the inscription, "Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum." Hence the very excited suspicion of the jealous tyrant, who was himself an intruder upon the last national dynasty of the Hasmoneans. In the sacred books was announced a new king from David's stem—the more reason to Herod for fear, who did not spare even a son of his in the general slaughter of Bethlehem.

It has been deemed a proof to the contrary, that Flavius Josephus keeps a deep silence about this Herodian deed; but he may have forgotten to mention it, not having found it in the work of his warrant, Nicolaus Damascenus, court-historian of Herod. But this lacuna is fully compensated by Macrobius. This author, who in his book, "Saturnalia," nowhere bespeaks himself a Christian, tells (ii, 4) as an anecdote of Augustus, "Quum audivisset, inter *pueros*, quos in Syria *Herodes* rex Judæorum *infra bimatum* jussit interfici, *filium* quoque ejus occisum (esse), ait, 'Melius est Herodis *porcum* esse quam *filium*.'" Had Macrobius said ". . . porcum . . . puerum," he would have committed an ambiguity, *puer* signifying also slave, but the quibble would have been more striking in Latin. I warrant that Augustus spoke it in the Greek language, ὗν εἶναι ἢ υἱὸν. The same quibble between ὗες and υἱεῖς is met with already in Aristophanes. The meaning of Augustus was, "It is better to be one of the *swine* of Herod than his *son*, for the former, he, being a Jew, does not slaughter."

I am going now to produce a further reason in behalf of my hypothesis, that the search after the two-years'-old children originated from the Egyptian double year and the coincidence of the rising dogstar with 1st Mesori during the tetraëterid 5–2 B.C.

In a former work[1] I have proved that the name of the month *Mesori* is to be decomposed into *mes*, "birth," and *Hori*, "of Horus." I have stated that in this month's name is revealed a great *dynastic* festivity, *Horus being the type and model of all legitimate successors or crown-princes.* In

[1] "Les Zodiaques de Denderah," 1864.

another treatise[1] I have shown that the *serpent* held by Horus is an emblem proper to this youthful god, who, like Hercules, even in his cradle overthrows all fiendish reptiles. Now, this emblem of Horus is always met with in his hand as symbolical of the *month Mesori*. Then the Magians could, with full reason, ask for the *born king*, because the rising dogstar was announcing meanwhile the first tetraëterid of *Mesori*. But it is to be noted that even in the fact that Christ's nativity is *not* congruent with the *first* year, we possess a warrant for His historical and independent existence.

V. Taking into consideration the *nationality* of the Magians, I cannot help citing Chalcidius,[2] although his passage may be founded upon St. Matthew's: "Sane notanda est alia sanctior et venerablior historia, quæ perhibet de ortu *stellæ cujusdam*, non morbos mortesque denuntiantis, sed descensum Dei venerabilis ad humanæ conversationis rerumque mortalium gratiam, quam stellam, quum *nocturno* itinere suscepissent *Chaldæorum* profecto sapientes viri et consideratione rerum cœlestium satis exercitati, quæsisse dicuntur recentis Dei ortum; repertaque illa majestate puerili, venerati esse et vota Deo tanto convenienter nuncupasse." But how do we explain the peculiarity that these three *wise men* have received the title of *kings* in the tradition, the sacred text styling them only *μάγοι*? Perhaps the Eusebian list of Manetho's XXVIIth Dynasty throws some light on this point; whereas Africanus had placed *Δαρεῖος* after Kambyses as second reign, Eusebius exhibits after *Καμβύσης* the reading, "*μάγοι*, 7 months," *ἐβασίλευσαν*, in full harmony with Herodotus, iii, 67: *ὁ δὲ δὴ μάγος—ἐβασίλευσε*. Hence it follows that in the time betwixt Africanus (222) and Eusebius (325) a change had taken place in respect to the designation of the interregnum. This circumstance may possibly account for the peculiarity of the names—legendary ones—formed afterwards as *nomina propria* of the three Magians, perhaps with respect to their gifts—gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

[1] "Über altägyptische Musik" (Sitzungsberichte d. K. Akad. d. W. 1873, summer).

[2] In Plato's "Tim.," p. 325.

If we consider these names, Caspar, Melchior, Balthasar, under such a point of view, we may find a meaning therein. It is well known from Berosus and Syncellus, that the most ancient town *Sipara*, near Babylon, was dedicated to the Sun, and held the sacred books concerning the flood of Xisuthros. Supposing, now, that a syllable or word like כסא *kissé*, meaning "throne," was prefixed, we should obtain a compound name *Cas-sipar*, or *Caspar*, with the meaning "throne of Sipara." In the same manner Balth-asar would be decomposed into בַּעֲלַת *baalth*, "domination," and אשור *Aschur*, "Assyria," written *Asar* in the oldest Egyptian texts. There is a representation in one of the Roman catacombs[1] where *one Magian* of the three wears a cap or hat like the *Assyrians*.

If we look on the third one, who occupies usually the middle of them, he is always represented as a *black* man, but not of the usual negro type. It is the *Melch-ior*, whose name betrays, no doubt, the Semitic root מֶלֶךְ *melech*, "king." As to the second constitutive part of his name, it is surely the Egyptian word *aur* written יְאֹר *jeor*, "the Nile." Now, in the same manner as Homer takes *Αἴγυπτος* both for the river and the land of Egypt, so we obtain for Melch-ior the meaning, "King of Egypt"; and his black colour may be attributed to the original meaning of *Cham:* Kemi, *Χημία*, the "black-grounded land," *μελάγγαιος*. At any rate, the three names were formed with respect to the three oldest kingdoms of the ancient world, *Babylonia*, *Assyria*, *Egypt*, in order to state that these states, or their representatives or kings, might be considered as doing homage to the new-born King of the Jews.

VI. There is another point which betrays an Egyptian origin—the exact day of Christ's nativity, as related by Clemens of Alexandria. You have already made mention of it in your valuable paper by translating, "Our Lord was born in the twenty-eighth year" (that is, the 28th year of the Egyptian era of the battle of Actium, Aug. B.C. 3–2), "when first the census was ordered to be taken in the reign of

[1] Wiseman, "The Church of the Catacombs."

Augustus. And there are those who have determined not only the year of the Lord's birth, but also the day; and they say that it took place in the 28th year of Augustus, and in the 25th day of Pachon(s)."—Strom. 1.

I may here observe, that the 28th year since the battle of Actium, if we pay no attention to the Nabonassarian era, was counted from September B.C. 31, as you have stated in your note. Thus we have once more the year 3 before our era as the exact year of Christ's nativity.

As to the tradition that the *25th Pachon(s)* was His birth-day, it is of course merely Egyptian, and must be judged by the Egyptian calendar, of the vague year, in the same manner as we have met with the *month Mesori*. Now it is very remarkable that the god *Chons*, the third member of the divine triad at Thebes, performs the same *rôle* with respect to the *moon* as *Horus* with respect to the *sun*. The representations agree perfectly with this hypothesis, showing the god Chons always with the full moon on his head, viz., in his highest degree of development.

Furthermore, in my above-mentioned work, "Les Zodiaques de Denderah," I have proved by evidence that the name Pa-Chons was derived from a great festival, held in the night of the *full-moon*. A Greek papyrus in the Museum at Leyden bears: *Σεληνειήοις Παχὼν κέ*, and I have noted, "Cette date du 25 Pachon(s) pour la fête *lunaire* des *σεληνεία* est très-remarquable." Indeed, the Egyptians could not choose another date of their whole calendar, if they intended to make the Lord's birth-day coincide with the most striking lunar festivity.

If we pay but a little attention to the character of the vague year, we are convinced in a short time that the same lunar phases returned after every 25th year; this number of vague years being equal to 309 synodic months of about $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each, so that 59 days represent a double lunation. You perceive that I am speaking of the so-called Apis-period. In the work I am now occupied with, I have stated, on monumental proofs from Edfu, *that the year 3 before our common Dionysian era is the 22nd of the cycle, having as signature the number* $\frac{14}{25}$ *i.e.*, on the 1st Thoth the moon had about three

days passed its plenilunium. Counting *until* 25 *Pachons* we obtain 248 days, which divided by 59, or the double lunation, gives the quotient of 4, equal 8 months of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days each, with remainder 12, that is, *very near a full-moon.*[1] Q.E.D.

Besides this great *lunar festival on the 25th Pachons*, every 22nd year of the Apis-period, there was annually, in the same month, at the full moon, another feast, which I have pointed out in Plutarch, "De Is. et Osir.," ch. 8, "les Egyptiens croient le *cochon* un animal impur" (in this respect the Egyptians were the instructors of the Jews) . . . . "mais le motif qu'ils en donnent lors du *sacrifice* et du *repas* d'un *cochon*, célébré *une fois l'année*, au temps de la *pleine lune*, en disant que Typhon . . . . . Osiris . . . . . on le croit une fable," etc. I have mentioned, moreover, the passage of Herodotus, ii, 47: "(il) rapporte cette même fête où l'on immolait et où l'on mangeait les cochons, à la lune (τῇ Σελήνῃ), et dit expressément, que cela ne se faisait qu'*une fois* par an, au temps de *la pleine lune*." Lastly, I have proved the truth of these testimonies by showing, in the "Zodiac of Denderah," a man within the lunar disc, holding a *hog* by the tail or the hind-legs, with the unquestionable gesture and intention of an offering, as the symbol of the month *Pachons*. You will perhaps wonder that I here insist upon a fact which seems not to be connected with our question; but allow me to direct your attention to the circumstance that we have herein a double exception of the rule, and "exceptiones semper sunt strictissimæ interpretationis." For the Egyptians offered and ate hogs only once a-year, and in this very point there is the only difference betwixt them and the Jews in regard to χοιρολογίᾳ. The meaning of the Egyptians, when they had become Christians, and fixed Christ's birthday on the 25th Pachons, seems to have been a double one—this night (full moon!), within which falls the birth of our Saviour, was the

[1] It must be borne in mind that 309 synodical months are too short by $1^h\ 8^m\ 33^s$ of 25 vague years, and that in the year we are speaking of about $\frac{1}{12}$ of the whole Sothiac-period, to which the Apis-period was attached, were already gone. Difference, $2^d\ 11^h\ 24^m\ 36^s$. If we add these to the remainder 12, we shall have $14^d\ 11^h\ 24^m\ 36^s$, almost exactly a full moon. I have obtained this result by mere calculation, without any help from astronomical or lunar tables.

death of all impurity, and at the same time began the abolition of the Jewish exclusive law with respect to eating hogs'-flesh.

I feel confirmed in this hypothesis by a passage of St. Hieronymus ad numerum Euseb. MMCLII = 120 A.D.: "Aelia (Jerusalem) ab Aelio Hadriano condita . . . . et in fronte ejus portæ, qua *Bethlehem* egredimur, *sus* sculptus in marmore." It is clear that Hadrian intended this emblem as an ignominy for the Jews, not for the Christians. But its application just on the door leading towards *Bethlehem*, points also to the above-mentioned overthrow of impurity, if not to Augustus quibble (ὗς — υἱός) with respect to the Bethlehemitic slaughter.

Returning to our 25th Pachons of the year 3 before our era, and reckoning backwards from the fixed point 1 Mesori = 20th July, we find the 25th Pachons corresponding with the 14th May. It is, at any rate, worth noticing that in a great part of southern Germany people write C+M+B+ on all their doors on the night preceding the 1st of May, and let these signs stand until the end of that month. Here we see Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar as a sort of Averrunci, or ἀλεξίκακοι saints, and invoked against all impure spirits. How far pagan or old Germanic traditions are mingled in these proceedings, I leave for others to examine and to decide.

Finally, it seems that the Egyptians, in fixing our Lord's nativity on a full-moon, have intended to comprehend His whole lifetime between two memorable plenilunia. A similar remark may be made on the traditional birth-day, 25th of December,[1] in the ecclesiastical calendar. I think the meaning was to give him the normal length of life, 33⅓ years, or an average generation, three of which make a century; but this and many other questions may yet remain undiscussed until a favourable discovery affords new materials.[1]

[1] Plutarch ("De Is. et Osir.," ch. 65*b*) relates that the young Horus (Ἁρποκράτης = *Har-pu-chrat*, "Horus, the child") is born, περὶ τὰς τροπὰς χειμερινὰς ἀτελῆ καὶ νεαρόν, and that the conceptional days (this meaning must belong to the expression τὰς δὲ λοχείους ἡμέρας) are feasted, μετὰ τὴν ἐαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν. Here we have the same two epochs as in 25th March to 25th December, 9 months.

VII. If I have not been unsuccessful in explaining the reason why we must maintain ann. 3 before our Dionysian era as Christ's birth-year, by the help of Egyptian sources, I wish once more to draw your attention to Augustus' general enrolment, performed in the same year by Quirinus throughout Syria and Palestine. It has been for many years my full conviction that the *idea* of this cadaster was inspired in the mind of the Roman emperor by an *Egyptian* custom. As this act of government forms the genesis or starting-point of the true Christian era, you will perhaps not neglect a hint, although of a slight kind, derived from Egyptology.

We learn from Diodorus and others, not least by the nature of the land itself, that *geometry* was thought an *Egyptian* discovery, the yearly inundation of the Nile necessitating continual measurements ; indeed we find almost in all temples that the inferior slabs represented the Egyptian *nomes*, or provinces personified, with the respective productions, doing homage to the king, as has been pointed out by Mr. Harris.[1] Dr. Brugsch's geography of ancient Egypt is founded chiefly on such representations. He mentions, besides others,[2] a list of the Egyptian nomes and protecting divinities on the outer wall of the Theban temple of the goddess *Ape* (hippopotama). Although the figures and texts are greatly damaged, we read, nevertheless, without any difficulty or uncertainty, the names of *Autokrator Kaisar(os)* = Emperor Augustus. This monarch leads successively all the nomes with their productions to the god Osiris-Unnophris ("the Good Being"), and in harmony with this is another monument, dedicated also by Augustus to the goddess Isis, of the town *Pe-she-n-Hor*, "the lake of Horus" (Shenhoor of the modern inhabitants). We learn by this that Augustus had done homage to the great general triad, Osiris, Isis, Horus, precisely in the *Theban nome*, the centre of the country. It is much to be regretted that no *date* is preserved; only we may conclude from the indications of the

[1] "Hieroglyphical Standards representing places in Egypt, supposed to be Nomes and Toparchies." London, 1853.

[2] "Geograph. Inschriften," i, p. 96, Tafel xvii foll. Cf. p. 146, 198. Cf. "Reiseberichte," p. 135.

text, which mentions the nomes of Nubia as pacified, that the representation in the temple of *Ape* falls after the prefecture of Petronius, perhaps at the time when his successor, Ælius Gallus, with Strabo, travelled in the southern parts, 20 B.C. A more precise date might be derived from the inscription of the first compartment, where Augustus says to "Osiris-Unnophris, the great one at Thebes, the prince at Heliopolis, the only lord of Memphis": "Thou art the king of heaven, the prince of the divine star (of Orion) . . . . . of the *month*." A very regretable lacuna deprives us of the means of determining the epoch; we can only infer that Osiris is apostrophised here in his double quality as Orion and Osiris-Aah-Lunus.

The sacred bull Apis being an incarnation of Osiris-Lunus, it is to be hoped that we can approximately point out the year of the 25-ëteric period. I shall mention also, by the way, that amongst the lunar eponymies[1] of the month, Osiris occupies the 3rd day, named *mes r-mah tep*, "prime of the moon" (first quarter), to which corresponds the 16th day, with the denomination *mes r-mah snau*, "wane of the moon" (second quarter). According to the great calendar of festivals at Edfu,[2] the chief feasts of Osiris were: at Thebes, the months Phaophi, Choiakh, Pachons, Payni; at Memphis, Tybi I, Mechir I; at Heliopolis, the neomeny, the sexta, and the decima quinta. We see in these last ones the true lunar character of Osiris-Lunus distinctly expressed, and as the monument of Augustus at Thebes apostrophises Osiris-Lunus in his threefold presidency of these three capitals of Egypt, we may search for a *combination*.

There is a very curious double-date at Edfu,[3] which reads, "This fair day, year 30, Payni 9, feast of the conjunction of Osiris-Lunus with the *Sun*: this is the sexta of the month Paoni (in the lunar calendar)." I have found that this is the exact year of Euergetes II, 140 B.C. (counted from 170 B.C.), and is the 11th of the Apis-cycle, whose signature is $\frac{1}{2}\frac{5}{7}$. The feast of the 15th day (like the god Chons) represents the *full-moon;*

[1] Brugsch, "Matériaux," &c., pl. iv.
[2] Ibid., pl. v, 4; vi, 1, 13.
[3] Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache, &c., 1872, pp. 14 and 41.

so we have one of the three lunar phases recorded under Heliopolis. The second phase, the *sexta*, is likewise clearly indicated, and indeed corresponds with Payni 9th, in the 13th year of the Apis-cycle. Two years before, in the 28th of Euergetes II, the same text of Edfu presents the double date, 18 Mesori = 23 Epiphi, difference 25 days, corresponding to a full century, if we reckon backwards from 142 B.C. to 242 B.C., *in which precise year Euergetes I. introduced the fixed year.*[1] Moreover, the same text says that "between year X, Epiphi 7 of Euergetes I, which was a sexta, the first sexta of all," and "year X. Epiphi 7 of Philopator, elapsed 25 years." This reckoning is fully borne out.

Now it must be remembered that Augustus, with respect to his Egyptian reform of the calendar (25 B.C.), only resumed the work of Euergetes I; hence the eminent *rôle* of the *sexta* in the temple of Edfu, founded by Euergetes I, and hence the same meaning of the *sexta* in our general text of Thebes. The third phase, the *neomeny*, is indicated under Memphis, Tybi I, Mechir I, whereas the previously cited *Payni* appears under Thebes, without any further indication of the precise day.

Now if we combine these instances, Augustus addresses Osiris-Lunus at Thebes in a triple character: (1) the *neomeny* records his calendaric reform, B.C. 25, where the first Thoth coincided with 0 or $\frac{2}{2}\frac{5}{5}$; (2) the *sexta*, reminds of Payni 9 at Edfu, and the 13th year of the cycle 13 B.C.; (3) the *full moon*, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{5}$, indicates the 19th year of the Apis-cycle. The year 6 B.C. therefore is probably the true date of Augustus' monument at Thebes, relating to the general cadastration of Egypt under the form of an offering to the generally worshipped triad. At any rate, notwithstanding the uncertainty about the exact year, owing to the most regretable lacuna[2] of the text, the Theban monument of Augustus demonstrates clearly that *he borrowed from thence the idea of enrolling the estates of his whole empire.*

[1] Cf. my "Schalttage des Euergetes I."

[2] It would be worthy the zeal of a scientific society to make, or order to be made, further excavations on the southern wall of the Ape temple.

VIII. It is an accepted fact, that of all the Gospels that of St. Luke affords the most precise chronological indications. The legend takes this companion of St. Paul to have been a painter and in intimacy with the Virgin Mary. Although I lay no great stress on this tradition, nevertheless it deserves noticing that those records which belong to the inner family events are followed by the remark *ἡ δὲ Μαριὰμ πάντα συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα συμβάλλουσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς*. Thus, ii, 19, about the adoration of the shepherds. The same remark is met with ii, 51, *καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ διετήρει πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς*. This concerns the answer of the twelve-years'-old Jesus, *οὐκ ᾔδειτε, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου δεῖ εἶναί με*, to the words of the Virgin Mary, *ἰδοὺ, ὁ πατήρ σου κἀγὼ ὀδυνώμενοι ἐζητοῦμέν σε*.

There is undoubtedly a sort of parallelism between these two passages, and as the former relates to the *πρώτη ἀπογραφή* of Quirinus, why may not the second belong also to a similar event, which for its not lesser importance was fixed likewise in the memory? Surely there were in our Lord's life until His 30th year more facts and speeches worthy to be recorded, and legend has afterwards sought to fill up this great lacuna or gap with fictitious ones. Surely, at every visit paid to Jerusalem on the Passover festivity, there had happened something of like nature which might be registered in a *written* account of his life. But such a record not existing, the historian was confined to *oral* communications, which dwell for the most part on the striking and chronological events. If we consider the above-cited travel to Jerusalem under this point of view, we shall be struck with the fact that at the same time Quirinus once more officiated as taxator of Archelaus and the people's possessions. For, according to the list drawn by Dr. Zumpt, P. Sulpicius Quirinus came back to Judæa in the year 6 A.D., and his successor, Q. Creticus Silanus, in the year 11. Allowing to Quirinus the same duration of governorship as the first time, from − 4 until + 1, viz., 5 years, the 12th year of Jesus will correspond to the middle of his second quinquennium; and this fact, as a most memorable one, because the same Quirinus being also connected with the birth of the child.

might cling very closely to the memory of the Virgin Mary. For this second enrolment was made under the protestation of Judas Galilæus (Gaulanites) and his partisans. The same St. Luke mentions this riot (Acts v, 37), in perfect harmony with Flavius Josephus,[1] in the following manner: *μετὰ τοῦτον* (*Θευδᾶν*[2]) *ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς* (second) *ἀπογραφῆς, καὶ ἀπέστησε λαὸν ἱκανὸν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.* This adds an additional weight to my proof, that the second census of Quirinus is intimately connected with our Lord's presence in Jerusalem in His 12th year. If we read St. Luke's narrative, influenced by this consideration, we shall better account for the difficulty that Joseph and Mary *οὐκ ἔγνω* "knew not" that the young Jesus had remained in Jerusalem, while they themselves retreated (*ὑποστρέφειν*), and that they made a whole journey, presuming he would be with the caravan. This negligence is in open contradiction to their sorrowful inquiries after Him amongst their relations and acquaintances, and as they did not find him there, to their three days' researches in Jerusalem, where they discovered Him finally with good luck amidst the masters of the divine law.

But the whole difficulty would be removed by supposing, as I do, that the rebellion of Judas Galilæus against Archelaus and the *προτίμησις*, from political reasons of national independence, broke out even at the Passover festivity, where a great crowd of Jews had come to Jerusalem. In this riot the members of the Holy Family, as well as others, might be separated and scattered in different directions. Joseph and Mary, as *Galilæans*, had the more reason to fear and to fly, because Judas, the leading head of the rebellion, was himself a *Galilæan*, who was himself slain on this occasion with his fellow-mutineers. Not having found the beloved Jesus amongst the caravan, they returned to Jerusalem, braving the danger. Thus what was a seeming negligence is converted now into a proof of their love.

Meanwhile Jesus was sitting in the temple amidst the

[1] "Antiquitt.," xvii, 1, 6; xviii; Bell. Jud. ii, 17, 8.
[2] Cf. Acts xxi, 38.

doctors of the law hearing and questioning. This peaceful occupation, close to a dangerous rebellion, is rendered intelligible by Josephus,[1] stating that the high-priest *Joazar* had succeeded in persuading the Jews *καί περ τὸ κατ'ἀρχὰς ἐν δεινῇ φέροντες τὴν τῆς ἀπογραφῆς ἀκρόασιν*, to admit *τὰς ἀγογραφάς: ἠττηθέντες τοῦ Ἰωαζάρου τῶν λόγων, ἀπετίμων χρήματα μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντες. Ἰούδας δὲ Γαυλανίτης, κ.τ.λ.* Thus the high-priest and his fellow brethren in the ministry might converse quietly with the young Jesus, and we obtain through this hypothesis an account for the name of Annas, besides that of Caiaphas, in St. Luke iii, 2; for it was the same Quirinus who, according to Josephus, in the 37th year after the battle of Actium, had substituted *Annas* (Ananus) for Joazar. We see here once more the fact confirmed that the 15th year of Tiberius' hegemonship, St. Luke iii, 1, must be counted from his 15th tribuniciæ potestatis, which coincided with the beginning of the second indictional cycle (12 of our era), and that Annas was named by him only for the purposes of this *same cadastration*.

IX. Again, a few (3) years afterwards, was renewed the *indiction* of 15 years. I deem it not a mere accident that Tiberius was assumed by Augustus as "collega imperii, consors tribuniciæ potestatis," the 15th time, just in the year 12 of our common era. For Tiberius, who died after a reign of 23 years, counted 38 years of tribuniciæ potestatis; he must, therefore, needs have had 15 when he was "omnes per exercitus ostentatus."[2] Moreover, St. Luke, whose 3rd chapter begins with the much talked-of chronological signature *ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος*, seems not to have meant his fifteenth *regnal* year since the *death* of Augustus, else he would have chosen another expression than *ἡγεμονία*, which corresponds to the decree next following of Pontius Pilatus, *ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας*. I am therefore of nearly, but not exactly, the same opinion as Nicolas Mann and others,[3] that the 15th year of Tiberius' hegemonship relates to his

[1] "Antiquitt.," xviii. [2] "Tacit. Annal.," i, 3.

[3] Cf. "Quarterly Review," 1872, p. 511, note, and Dr. Zumpt's essay.

association with Augustus, who assumed him as "collega imperii" in the year 12 of the Dionysian era. We will now find the reason why St. Luke has preferred this mode of reckoning to the common computation, which counts Tiberius' years from Augustus' death.[1] He states, then, that in the 15th year of Tiberius' hegemony, "the Word of God came to *John*, the son of Zacharias, in the desert."

As we know by Flavius Josephus' own experience,[2] there was a general rule about public service in Judæa, that none should enter it before his 30th year, either at the beginning or expiration of it. Now St. John was older than Jesus by half a year, and if we fix the beginning of his preaching and baptizing in the middle of the 15th year of Tiberius' hegemony, at the end of this year, 26 of our era, the second indiction expired, and a new one began, with Christ's having attained the same normal age of 30 years, for public activity. Again, it is St. Luke who (iii, 23) states, *καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος*, "Also Jesus himself (like John) was about 30 years old when he began" (to enter the public career). These words refer back to verse 21, where it is said that Jesus had been baptized by John after the other people. Instead of *ἀρχόμενος*, verse 23, Clemens of Alexandria, Strom. 1, reads *ἐρχόμενος*, "when he came (to be baptized)"; or, in connection with verse 16, *ἔρχεται δὲ ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου*. In no case can *ἀρχόμενος* be construed with *ἐτῶν*, 30, because *ὡσεὶ* appears. In this manner we obtain *two indictions* from Christ's birth to His entrance upon His public career; and now, I think, we have fully accounted for St. Luke's especial mode of counting Tiberius' years of *ἡγεμονία*. But a new difficulty presents itself when we come to the question of the four (or three) Passovers. I do not feel disposed now to enter here into a more minute

[1] "Suetonius in Vita Tiber.," xx, 21, "dedicata est ab eo Concordiæ ædes (Tauro et Lepido coss.) (Dio Cass.) . . . . non multo post lege per Consules lata, ut Provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, *censumque simul ageret*."

[2] "Vitæ Josephi," vii; "Bell. Jud.," xx, 4; "Photius Cod.," lxxvi, *εἶτα περὶ τὸ λ΄* (30th) *ἔτος πέμπεται ὁ Ἰώσηππος*, &c. Cf. "Havercamp.," ii, Append. p. 57, "missus deinde anno ætatis tricesimo (a Christio, lxvii) cum potestate in Galilæam."

inquiry, as I intend only to present to you a short sketch. I restrain myself, therefore, to declaring that I adopt the full moon of the 15th Nisan, Friday, 7th April, 30 A.D.,[1] as the exact date of Christ's crucifixion; but this memorable date not falling into the consulate of the *two Gemini*[2] (if we pay no respect to the termini "a Palilibus ad Palilia"), it would seem that I have not satisfied all the conditions of the question. For the present I only state that the very accurate Julius Africanus presents the same date under the form Olympiad 202, 2 = 30 of our common era.[3] As to the legendary day of the Holy Fathers for the crucifixion, "VIII Kal. Apriles," 25th of March, it seems to me obvious that it arose from the intention to make Christ's *death* coincide with the day of His presumed *conception*, and betrays a dependency on the ecclesiastical Christmas Day, 25th December. We should, I think, now write, "VIII Idus Apriles" as the true day of the crucifixion; but this question, as also many similar ones, may remain open to further discussion.

X. Corresponding to the *star* of the Magians at Christ's birth, a *darkness* σκότος (an *eclipse*) of the sun is related to have happened at His death, by three of the four Gospels. Theophilus of Antiochia quotes (libr. iii, sub finem sæculi ii) a passage of Thallos, who had entitled this *darkness* an *eclipse*. Phlegon of Tralles, who flourished under Hadrianus and Antonius, had mentioned, as Origenes (ii contra Celsum) relates, in the 13th or 14th book of his Chronica, that an eclipse happened under Tiberius ἀπὸ ὥρας ἕκτης μέχρις ἐννάτης; and Africanus, in one of his fragments, adds the words: δῆλον ὡς ταύτην, "evidently this" (related by the Gospels). It needs not that we care for the discrepant date, Olympiad 202, 4 as given by Eusebius and Syncellus. For these writers,

[1] Your own thesis, 3rd April, 33 A.D., is congruent with the crucifixion-day of our present year 1874.

[2] Cf. Sanclementius, "De vulg. ær. Emendat.," p. 493, s. 99.

[3] Epiphanius brings the Consulate of the two *Gemini* twice—under this name, anno 29; and under the designation of *Rufus* (Fufius) and *Rubellius*, anno 30. Tacitus keeps an eloquent silence about the year 30, relating only the events of the years 29 and 31. In the last chapter (ii) of Book V, he mentions a disagreement between the consuls *Trio* and *Regulus*, who are nowhere to be found.

like many others, misunderstood or completed Africanus' era 5500 to 5502, and thus they must have set down Olympiad 202, 4 instead of 202, 2, as Africanus himself had done in order to obtain three years for the preaching of Jesus. At any rate, there is no question of an ordinary eclipse of the sun caused by the new moon, whereas the death of Christ coincided with the full moon. I am not willing to enter into an especial inquiry about the weight of Thallos' and Phlegon's testimony; I insist only on the fact that, according to the three Gospels, an extraordinary darkness or eclipse of the sun happened for three hours until the death of Christ. For it makes no difference through what cosmical body the darkness was caused; at any rate, there was an eclipse (failing, obumbratio) of the sun. And as in scientific matters the difficulty is not solved by throwing it aside or entitling it nonsense, we must seek a plausible explanation.

For the sake of shortness, I declare that this σκότος seems to me intimately connected with the *star* of the Magians. In the same manner as this *peculiar* phenomenon had announced with a bright light the birth of Christ, His death might be symbolized and brought to general knowledge by the extinction of this especial light above.

There are in our common calendar three saints: Pancratius, Servatius, Bonifacius (12, 13, 14 May!), called the "cold saints," and highly feared by the gardeners, who do not care to expose their tender plants to the open air during these three days. Alexander von Humboldt, in his "Kosmos," explains this extraordinary cooling of temperature by supposing that meteoric or planetoïd bodies obstruct the passage of a part of the rays of the sun, so that they do not reach our earth.

Moreover, it is a well known fact that the considerable number of little planets between Mars and Jupiter are supposed to have formed at one time a greater planet. Kepler, in discovering the famous rule of the planetary distances, had conjectured that between Mars and Jupiter something would be found—long before the planetoïds themselves were discovered. In following this rule Uranus and Neptune were also pointed out. I have already quoted

his observation of the "Stella nova in pede Serpentarii," which was no doubt a *fixed star*, appearing with a bright light and vanishing again after a year and three months.

Likewise the *star of the Magians*, which was presumably a suddenly revealed one, may have disappeared or become dark after a short delay, witnessing once more by its adumbration of the solar disc its undisturbed existence, but scattered into many parts like the veil of the temple and the rocks, following or causing the earthquake (St. Matthew xxvii, 51). It has been objected that St. John, an eye witness of Christ's death, does not at all mention this darkness; but it must be borne in mind that his Gospel, written after the others for their completion, could neglect facts already related; in his Apocalypsis vi, 12–17, there is a vision perfectly similar to the fact related by the three other Gospels, which might be a recollection of the celestial events at the day of the Crucifixion; for again it is question of a great day, *ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη*.

Accept, dear Sir, this decad of mine about Christ's nativity with indulgence, and believe me to be,

Yours truly,

LAUTH.

ADDENDA TO DR. LAUTH'S PAPER ON THE NATIVITY.

With reference to pages 242 and 243 of the foregoing learned paper of Dr. Lauth, I would suggest that it is unnecessary to enter into the question, whether in speaking of the fifteenth year of Tiberius, St. Luke intended really to refer to the twelfth year of his reign, after the death of Augustus; considering that Dr. Lauth is satisfied that the Nativity of Jesus Christ must be placed in the year B.C. 3.

It appears to me that the years from the Nativity to the Crucifixion should be counted thus:—

	B.C.
Birth of Jesus Christ in Autumn	3
One year old in Autumn	2
Two years old in Autumn	1
	A.D.
Three years old in Autumn	1
Ten years old in Autumn	8
Thirty years old in Autumn	28
Thirty-one years old in Autumn	29
"And Jesus himself was about thirty years of age," Luke iii, 23, from Autumn A.D. 28 to Autumn A.D. 29.	
Thirty-two years old in Autumn	30
Thirty-three years old in Autumn	31
Thirty-four years old in Autumn	32
About thirty-four in April ...	33

	B.C.
Death of Herod in February or March B.C. 1, soon after the lunar eclipse 10th Jan.	1
	A.D.
The fifteenth of Tiberius ended in August	29
Baptism of Jesus in May or June, A.D. 29.	
First Passover, Spring	30
Second Passover Spring	31
Third Passover Spring	32
Crucifixion, old style, 3rd April at the full moon on Friday.	33

J. W. BOSANQUET.

CLAYSMORE, *Dec. 27th*, 1875.

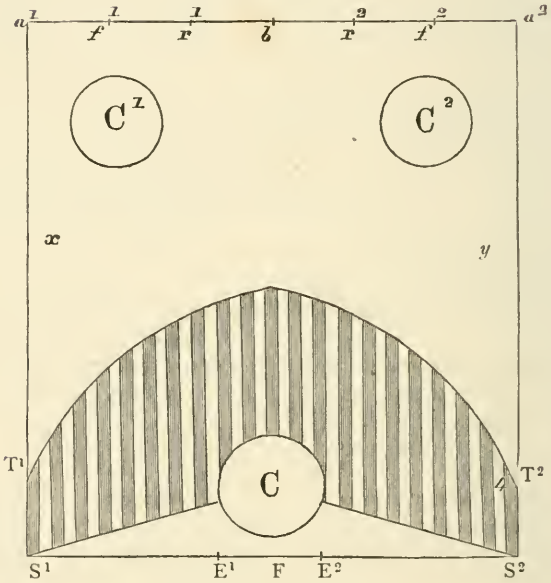
[1] The only alternative is the full moon on Friday, 7th April, A.D. 30.

ON AN EGYPTIAN SHAWL FOR THE HEAD,

AS WORN ON THE STATUES OF THE KINGS.

By Samuel Sharpe.

Read 1st June, 1875.



An artist may sometimes wish to clothe a figure like an Egyptian statue, with the shawl upon the head. For this purpose take a square piece of striped cloth, measuring a double royal cubit, or about forty-two inches on each side. Such a side ($a^1\ a^2$) will go once and a half round the head.

In our figure the stripes are marked only on that part of the shawl which will remain in sight when it is worn. (C). (c^1) and (c^2) will be the three folds on the top of the

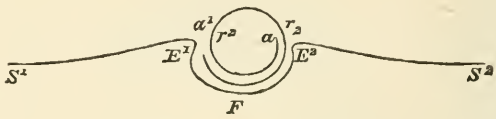
head; such a thickness of cloth is needed to shield the head from the sun's rays. (F), (f^1), and (f^2) will all be on the middle of the forehead; (b) at the back of the head; (E^1) (a^1) and (r^2) at one ear, (E^2), (a^2) and (r^1) at the other ear; and (S^1 T^1) will lie on the right breast, and (S^2 T^2) on the left breast; (xy) will be the line where we shall use a string.

We have here shown the striped side of the cloth uppermost, but when putting it into shape it will be more convenient to turn the face of the cloth to the table, and to have the hem (a^1 a^2) nearest to yourself.

Begin by putting a mark at (F), on the middle of the hem furthest from you. Take the measure of the head, and put marks at (f^1) and (f^2) on the hem nearest to you, so that (f^1 b f^2) may go round the head and meet at the forehead; (a^1 r^2) for one ear, and (a^2 r^1) for the other ear, will find their own places presently. Fold the cloth as if into a cylinder, so that (f^1) may fall on (f^2). Pin them together, and at the same time pin (a^1) to (a^2) and (a^2) to (r^1). Tie a string round the cloth at a place rather nearer to the hem (a^1 a^2) than to the hem (S^1 S^2). Spread out the rest of the cloth on the table with the face still downwards; while the skull cap, (b), at the back of the head, touches the table. Then pull the further hem of the cloth towards you, so that (F) falls upon (f^1) and (f^2); pin them all together with one pin. Then pin (E^1) to (a^1) and (r^2) with one pin,

and (E^2) to (a^2) and (r^1) with another pin. These will be at the ears. The shawl is then completely made up and ready for wear. The string will be out of sight.

Before putting it on it will be convenient to turn it over, so that (F, f^1, and f^2) may be downwards on the table. Then the following figure will represent the two hems of the shawl, and the letters will correspond with those on the former figure.



You may now stoop down and put your head into the skull cap. as it lies on the table. Pull it down close to the eyebrows, throw the rest of the shawl back upon the shoulders, and the folds will find their own places. (C) will be on the crown of the head; (f^1 f^2 F) will be on the forehead; (S^1 T^1) and (S^2 T^2) will be on the breast; and the other spots marked with letters will be out of sight.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SKELETON OF AN EGYPTIAN MUMMY,

UNROLLED AT STAFFORD HOUSE, 15TH JULY, 1875.

By Joseph Bonomi.

Read 2nd November, 1875.

The extensive collection of skeletons of the human species from various countries contained in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, has recently been augmented by the addition of the skeleton of an Egyptian mummy, presented by His Grace the Duke of Sutherland; which, so far as I am aware, is the only skeleton of an Egyptian mummy hitherto exhibited, excepting the one in the Museum of Turin.

I have no reliable notes of that specimen, but it is what is called a natural skeleton, that is to say, the bones adhere together by their own natural ligaments, while the skeleton in the College of Surgeons has the bones articulated by the usual contrivances.

This Egyptian skeleton, when compared with the other examples in the Royal College of Surgeons, presents some features so remarkable that I venture to think the details may prove interesting and useful.

The two characteristics which I will especially point out, are—the great width of the shoulders, and the unusual straightness of the vertebral column.

The height of the skeleton as articulated, is estimated at 5 feet 4 inches and a-half; and the height of the European skeleton which has been selected for comparison is 5 feet 6 inches, or 1 inch and a-half taller than the Egyptian.

Beginning with the measurements of width.

The greatest width of the head in the Egyptian is 5 inches and 4-8ths. The same measure in the European is 6 inches

and 1-8th. Thus the European exceeds the Egyptian by 5-8ths. In the Egyptian the measurement across the shoulders is 17 inches and 3-16ths. In the European the measurement across the shoulders is 15 inches and 8-16ths; so that the Egyptian exceeds the European by 1 inch and 11-16ths.

The clavicle of the Egyptian is 6 inches and a-half long, while the clavicle of the European is only 6 inches.

The greatest width of the pelvis in the Egyptian is 10 inches and 9-16ths, in the European it is only 10 inches, so that the Egyptian here also exceeds the European by 9-16ths. The greatest width of the foot in the Egyptian is 3 inches and 1-8th.

It may be considered scarcely fair to compare this measure with the European foot, which has been in bondage during the whole of its existence, while the Egyptian never wore any other clothing for the foot than a sandal, yet it turns out to be that the foot of the European we have chosen for comparison is wider than the Egyptian by 1-4th of an inch. Whether this man had been a sailor all his life, or by some chance never a wearer of the shoemakers' contrivances for distorting the foot, it is impossible to say.

Having now completed the measurements of width, we next proceed to examine those of length.

In the Egyptian the measurement from the top of the head to the top of the sternum is 12 inches, while in the European this measurement is 12 inches and a-half. In the Egyptian from the top of the sternum to the pubis is 20 inches and 2-16ths, while in the European this measure is 21 inches. In the Egyptian from the pubis to the ground is 32 inches, making the whole height to be 5 feet 4 inches and 2-16ths, that is, exactly 6-16ths less than it was estimated to be. In the European this measure is 33 inches and a-half, making the whole height 5 feet 7 inches, or one inch more than the skeleton was estimated to be.

NOTE UPON THE SKELETON OF AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN,

Presented to the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons by His Grace the Duke of Sutherland.

By Prof. William Henry Flower, F.R.S., Conservator of the Museum.

Read 2nd November, 1875.

The mummy was prepared without bitumen, and the ethmoid bones were intact, showing that the brain had not been extracted through the nostril in the manner described by Herodotus, and as is generally the case with mummies from Thebes. When divested of their wrappings, the soft tissues of the body were all dry, and perfectly friable, separating from the bones, and crumbling at a touch. The hair that remained upon the scalp was fine, soft and wavy, probably originally white or grey, but now stained of a yellowish-brown colour, much the same hue in fact as that of the dried flesh and bones and the cloths in which they were enveloped. The bones were very light and brittle, having lost much of their animal matter, and could only be made firm enough to bear the wires necessary for articulation by impregnation with gelatine.

The skeleton is that of a man (as the character of the pelvic bones show without question), of short stature, *i.e.*, five feet four inches in height, and considerably advanced in age. It is well proportioned, and tolerably muscular, and shows that great length of clavicle and squareness of shoulder so well known in ancient Egyptian sculptures. The left ulna

has been fractured near its lower end, at some period long before death, and has reunited with scarcely any displacement. Some chronic inflammatory disease, probably of a rheumatic nature, has affected the anterior surfaces of the bodies of the two lower lumbar vertebræ and the articulation between them, leading to irregular deposits of new bone, which has met in front of the articulation, causing partial ankylosis. There is also a thickening of the middle of the tenth right rib, which may possibly be the effect of injury.

Some of the teeth have been lost during life, and the others are very much worn, the incisors almost down to the roots. It is, however, fair wear, owing to age and the probable admixture of sandy particles with the food, for there is no appearance of caries.

The skull presents the general ruggedness of surface, prominent supraorbital ridges, and the large mastoid processes characteristic of the male sex. The face is perfectly orthognathous. The chin long and projecting. The nasal bones are long and compressed, indicating a prominent thin nose, of aquiline form, which must have deviated somewhat towards the right of the middle line. The lower edges of the malar bones are rough and prominent. The cranial cavity is capacious, of a very symmetrical, elongated, oval form. The forehead is rather low, and the vertex flattened, but the occipital region is large. The capacity is 94 cubic inches, or 1,540 cubic centimetres, which exceeds the average capacity of thirteen ancient Egyptian skulls in the Museum by six and a half cubic inches, but this average includes some female as well as male skulls. Three of the male skulls in the series measure more than the present example, being respectively 98, 99 and 104 cubic inches.

The circumference, taken immediately above the glabella, is 21 inches, or 53·4 centimetres. The extreme length 7·8 inches, or 19·8 centimetres. The parietal width 5·5 inches, or 14·0 centimetres. The greatest height 5·8 inches, or 14·7 centimetres. The skull then is eminently dolichocephalic, the cephalic index, or proportion of breadth to length (the latter being taken at 100), being 71. By way of comparison, I

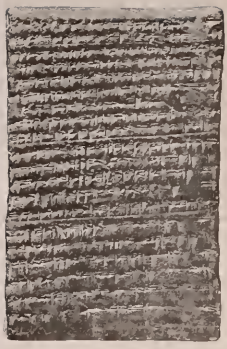
may add that of twenty ancient Egyptian skulls in the Museum, none are brachycephalic, or having a cephalic index of 80 or higher; 12 are mesocephalic, or with a cephalic index between 75 and 79, and eight are dolichocephalic, having a cephalic index ranging from 70 to 74, while the general average of the twenty is 75.

BABYLONIAN CONTRACT TABLETS,

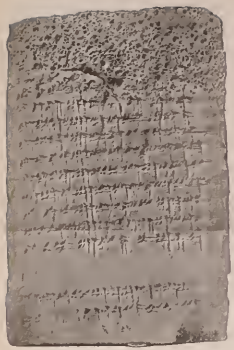
Presented to the Society of Biblical Archæology, 6th April, 1875, *by* Lady Tite.

These two fine contract tablets, the fac-similes of which are given in the annexed plate, were formerly in the possession of the late Sir William Tite. They belong to the Persian period, and are dated (*a*) in the twenty-sixth of Artaxerxes, and (*b*) in the seventeenth year of Darius. A full description will be hereafter given, accompanied with a translation and transliteration of the cuneiform text.

1 *a*



1 *b*



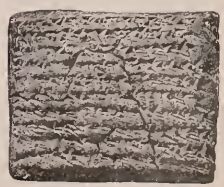
1 *e*

1 *c*

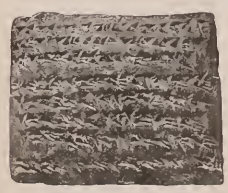
1 *f*

1 *d*

2 *a*



2 *b*



Babylonian Tablets presented by Lady Tite to the Society of Biblical Archæology.

"Dallastine," Engraved and Printed by Jones [illegible]

NOTICE OF A VERY ANCIENT COMET.

From a Chaldean Tablet.

By H. F. Talbot, F.R.S.

Read 7th December, 1875.

This interesting tablet was pointed out to me by Mr. G. Smith, to whom I am likewise indebted for a clear explanation of it, accompanied by the necessary proofs. But Mr. Smith is not responsible for any errors I may have committed in drawing up this brief account of it, as he had left this country on his Eastern expedition before these sheets were printed.

The tablet is lithographed in Vol. III, plate 52, of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. I have only translated the most important portions of it, which I think may be given as follows:—

First portion.

1. The star is hairy: its orb (or crown) is like a shining light
2. and it has a tail receding from it like a creeping Scorpion

[*then the tablet goes on to say that this is an excellent omen for the peace and prosperity of the land. This I omit.*]

Second portion.

3. A great star from the Northern horizon
4. unto the Southern horizon
5. extends its measure like a creeping [*scorpion's tail*].

THIRD PORTION.

6. This on the face of the tablet [*was written*]
7. at the time when Nebuchadnezzar had marched into the land of Elam.

The italic words within brackets are broken off, but they are easily restored.

This great comet therefore appeared in the days of Nebuchadnezzar the first. This ancient monarch may be estimated to have reigned about the year 1150 B.C.[1]

The tail of a comet cannot have extended quite literally from the north to the south horizon, but supposing its head to have risen a little above the south horizon, its tail may have reached considerably beyond the zenith: for this immense length is recorded of other comets, notably of that which appeared in Newton's time, in the year 1680. And it is not impossible that this may have been a former appearance of the same comet. For, astronomers give a period of 575 years, or thereabouts, as the length of one revolution of this comet in its orbit.[2] Therefore if we calculate backwards from 1680 (five revolutions) we find that it appeared about the year B.C. 1195. Let us now see how far this agrees with the date of Nebuchadnezzar's reign.

Sennacherib says in the Bavian inscription that when he conquered Babylon (about B.C. 704) he recaptured the images of the gods which Marduk-haddon[3] had captured from the Assyrians 418 years before, and therefore about the year 1122. Now, Nebuchadnezzar was the predecessor of Marduk-haddon, adding therefore 33 years for one generation we get B.C. 1155 for the date of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. But a rough calculation gives (as I have said) B.C. 1195 as the date of the comet. The difference is 40 years, which is not much, considering the various elements of uncertainty which exist, as to the duration of the reigns of the two Babylonian monarchs, as well as the great perturbations which the orbit

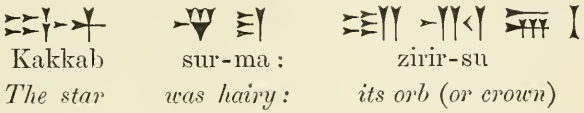
[1] See G. Smith, "Records of the Past," Vol. V, note to p. 87.

[2] See Pingré traité des Comètes, tom. ii, p. 136.

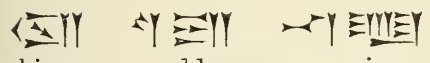
[3] So I think his name may have been pronounced.

of the comet may have experienced during the lapse of so many ages. Moreover the difference disappears if we suppose that Marduk-haddon captured the Assyrian gods in the 40th year of his reign, and not in his first year. But we have no information on this point.

I will now give the cuneiform text with some observations upon it.

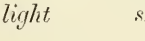
Line 1. 

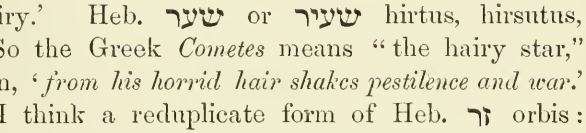
Kakkab	sur-ma :	zirir-su
The star	*was hairy :*	*its orb (or crown)*



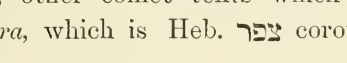
kima	udda	namir
was like	*a light*	*shining*

Sur 'hairy.' Heb. שער or שעיר hirtus, hirsutus, horridus. So the Greek *Cometes* means "the hairy star," and so Milton, '*from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war.*'

Zirir is I think a reduplicate form of Heb. זר orbis : corona : for, other comet texts which I will give, have  *tsipra*, which is Heb. צפר corona caput ambiens.

Line 2. 

As	zarari-su	kima	nammasti
	Receding from it	*like a*	*creeping*

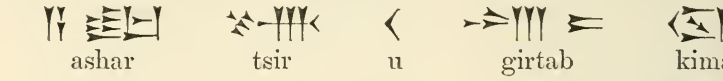


girtab	kun	isakin
scorpion	*a tail*	*it had.*

Observations.—As zarari-su, diverging from it, or turned away from it. Root זרר same as Heb. זור or זר recedere : divertere. The Niphal נזר has same meaning, *ex. gr.* Isaiah i, 4, נזרו, where the Latin has 'aversi sunt retrorsum,' and the authorized version has 'they are gone away backward.'

Hebrew scholars[1] say this verb is very close to סור, which means 'to go back.' Therefore I translate "going back from it was a tail."

Girtab, a Scorpion. The meaning of this word was first discovered by Oppert, in a curious passage of the annals of Esarhaddon (1 R 46, 29 and 3 R 15, 13) where the king relates the hardships he suffered in marching through a province of Arabia. The account of it in 3 R 15 is the clearest of the two. It is as follows:—



ashar	tsir	u	girtab	kima
where	*of snakes*	*and*	*scorpions*	*like*

zirbabi	malū	agar
flies	*was full*	*the land*

which means, I think, "where snakes and scorpions were as common as flies are *in other lands*"—an exaggerated account of the horrors of this desert.

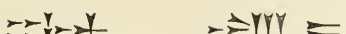
Observations.—Ashar, 'the place' or 'the place where,' often used for the adverb 'where.'

Zirbabi 'flies.' Heb. זבוב a fly: a gad fly: and in Eccles. x, 1, a kind of poisonous fly.

This conjecture of M. Oppert has since been fully verified by a tablet in the British Museum which Mr. Smith had the kindness to explain to me. It is a fragment of a circular planisphere which once contained the names of the 12 months with the signs of the Zodiac which ruled over them. At present I think only two remain legible on the fragment, but fortunately one of them is the sign of the Scorpion. It stands as follows; but the letters are arranged in the curve of a circle:—

(.....)	Marchesvan
Arakh	*the eighth*
month	

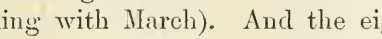
[1] See Gesenius and Schindler, p. 1208.



kakkab girtab

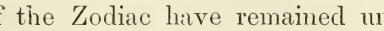
the constellation of the Scorpion

The Accadian month is known to be the eighth month of the year; indeed it is called in Assyrian *arakh samna* 'the eighth month'; and so in Latin *October* (the year beginning with March). And the eighth sign of the Zodiac is Scorpio. Therefore we have reason to suppose that the signs of the Zodiac have remained unchanged from a remote antiquity.

Line 3. 

Kakkab rabu ultu tib [.....]

star great from the horizon [*north*]

Line 4. 

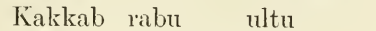
ana tib .....

to the horizon south

Line 5.

misikh-su kima namasti (.....)

its measure like a creeping [*scorpion's tail*]

Line 6. 

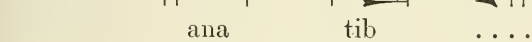
anniu sha pi dippi .....

This on the face of the tablet [*was written*]

Line 7.

ki Nabukudur-ussur mat

when Nebuchadnezzar the land

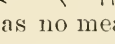
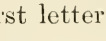
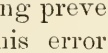


Elamti itbuni

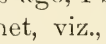
of Elam had gone to.

Observations.—*Tib* probably means the Horizon. I think it may be identified with דף the original root of Syriac דפן

'the side.' The North *side* (of the sky) would mean the North horizon.

Itbuni, he had gone to. The restoration of this word is easy. Instead of the lithographer has given  which has no meaning at all. He has detached a wedge from the first letter and added it to the next, the closeness of the writing preventing him from knowing which it belonged to. This error is not unfrequent. *Itbuni* is much the same as *itbú* (he had gone); in proof of which it will be sufficient to adduce a passage from the Bavian inscription 3 R 14, line 48, where one copy reads  *ilqu* (I captured, from לקח to capture), and the other copy reads  *ilqum*.

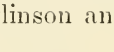
I will now advert to some other notices of comets which I have found on the tablets. In No. 399 of my glossary, published some years ago, I said: "I will add the Assyrian description of a comet, viz., "Star which has before it a *corona* or glory, (*tsipra* Heb. צפר corona caput ambiens) and behind it a tail," 3 R 52, 55, this curious passage has been noted by Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. G. Smith. The original words are



kakkab sha as pan-su tsipra as arka - su kun.

"*star which has before it a glory, behind it a tail.*"

And in vol. iii, p. 443, of the Transactions I quoted the following description of a comet from 2 R 49, 13:



as arki-su kun kima sallummu.

"*After it was a tail like a shadow.*"

FRAGMENT OF THE FIRST SALLIER PAPYRUS.

Translated by Professor E. L. Lushington.

Read 7th December, 1875.

This very defective fragment, consisting, when complete, of two pages and three lines, refers to the obscure period when foreign invaders, commonly called Hyksos, or shepherds, held dominion in Egypt, entrusting the government of the Southern region to a subordinate native viceroy. Apapi, the Hyksos king here mentioned, Apophis in the Greek form, is apparently the last of his dynasty. The struggle of which this fragment indicates the commencement, resulted eventually in the re-establishment of Egyptian independence and supremacy. The native prince, Sekenen-Ra, or perhaps a descendant of his named likewise Sekenen-Ra, was the predecessor of Ahmes (Amosis), generally reckoned the 1st king of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

The interest of the subject has attracted the attention of several eminent scholars to this relic of early history. It was first recognised by De Rougé, translated in part by Brugsch, Z. S. f. d. D. Morg. Ges., 9, 200, in 1855, and again later in his Histoire de l'Egypte, 1859, p. 78; more fully by Mr. Goodwin, Cam. Ess., 1858, p. 243; more recently it has been treated by Dr. Birch, in Bunsen's Egypt, vol. v, p. 730, 1867; Chabas, Les Pasteurs en Egypte, 1868, p. 16; and Ebers, Ægypten u. d. Bücher Moses, 1868, p. 204.

The style of the fragment is in general simple and easy; the difficulties that remain even after the labours of these admirable pioneers in vanquishing obstructions are mainly due to its dilapidated condition. At the end of line 3, p. 3, it breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and line 4 commences with a different subject.

Page 1.

LINE

1. It came to pass that the land of Egypt was held by the impure; there was no sovran master on the day when this came to pass. Then King Sekenen-Ra was ruler in the Southern region, the impure in the district of Amu, (*a*) their chief,
2. King Apapi, in the city Avaris; the whole land did homage to him with their handiwork, paying tribute alike from all good produce of Tameri. King Apapi
3. took to himself Sutech for lord, refusing to serve any other god in the whole land . . . . . he built for him a temple of goodly and enduring workmanship; King Apapi (appointed)
4. festivals, days for making sacrifice to Sutech (with all rites), that are performed in the temple of Ra Harmachis . . . . (*b*)
5. . . . Apapi . . . . King Sekenen-Ra . . . . many days after this . . . . .

[Three or four lines lost.]

Page 2.

1. with him (*c*) . . . . not assent (to serve) any of the gods in the whole land except Amen Ra, king of gods . . . . many days after this
2. King Apapi sent to the ruler of the South a notice, according as his scribes knowing in affairs said.
3. Now when the messenger of King Apapi (came to) the ruler of the South, he was conducted before the ruler of the South.
4. He said to the messenger of King Apapi, "Who sent thee to the Southern region? For what art thou come to the roads?" The messenger said to him,
5. "King Apapi sent me to thee to say . . . . touching the well for cattle which is . . . . . the city; verily, no
6. sleep came to me day or night." . . . . the ruler of the South (was amazed). It came to pass he knew not how

LINE

7. to reply to the messenger of King Apapi. (At length) he said, "Has not thy royal master . . . . .
8. . . . . which he sent . . . .[1]
9. . . . . cakes of bread (?)
10. . . . . all that thou hast said I find . . .
11. . . . . (the messenger of) King Apapi rose to depart to where

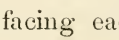
Page 3.

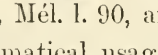
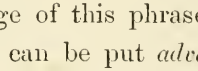
1. his royal master was. Then the ruler of the South bade summon his mighty chiefs, likewise his captains and expert guides; he
2. repeated to them the tale entire of the words which King Apapi sent to him concerning them. They were all silent at once, in great dismay (?)
3. they knew not how to answer him good or ill. King Apapi sent to . . . .

Notes.

(*a*.) Line 1. This is the version now generally accepted; but if the copy of the papyrus published by the British Museum is exact, the words seem most naturally to read ⊙ "city of the Sun-god." What follows is more obscure, , if that be the word, is only known to me from a passage quoted by M. Chabas, Pap. hier. d. Berlin, fol. 1, rendered by him "tribe." The space between this word, whatever it means, and the edge of the papyrus is rather longer than in the other lines. Can any characters have been lost? one might expect the usual prefix to the royal name Apapi.

[1] Of lines 8, 9 and 10 hardly anything can be made; they seem to contain the words given in the translation, but their connection of course is obscure.

(*b.*) Line 4. What follows here reads  , a difficult phrase admitting of more than one explanation; M. Chabas finds in the débris of this line the meaning "royal statues with head-tires, as in a temple, with figures of Ra Harmachis facing each other."

(*c.*) Line 1. Chabas renders this "*except* that I do not assent," explaining the group after as . Though he generally writes and not for , I presume he means the negative force of which he discussed, Mél. I. 90, and in other passages. A doubt as to the grammatical usage of this phrase suggests itself to me—is it certain that it can be put *adverbially* as "except, without," in a different construction from the imperative "do not, be not done"? He translates  , Dorb. 3, 1, "without loss of time," and Mr. Renouf, "Records of the Past," line 140, gives the passage "my elder brother wishes me to return without delay." The words of the original seem to me in strictness to present a more decidedly imperative phrase, reported by Bata as addressed to him by Anepu  "return to me, make no delay." For the gap supplied by Mr. Renouf with the word "wishes," I should rather conjecture "says" or "bids."[1] Ebers, p. 205, translates "in case that he will not assent," &c.

[1] Since writing this, I observe that de Rougé in his Chrestomathie, part 3, p. 132, gives the direct prohibitive force to these words, making Bata say to his brother's wife, "delay me not." This may be preferable to the interpretation suggested above.

NOTES ON THE RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE ASSYRIANS.

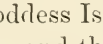
By W. St. Chad Boscawen.

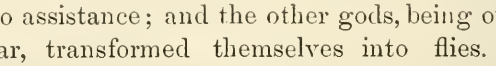
Read 7th December, 1875.

In these notes on the religion of the Assyrians which I bring before the Society, I have selected the subject of the belief in the immortality of the soul as found in the Assyrian religious system.

Of all the varied beliefs held by the human race, there is none so universally met with as that of a belief in the existence of a future state for the soul of man after death. It is therefore but natural to expect to find this doctrine held by the Assyrians, a people who had reached a high state of civilization.

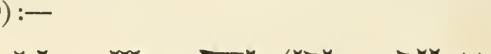
From time to time Assyriologists have brought forward texts and quotations from texts to show the existence of this belief. Mr. Fox Talbot, in two interesting papers read before this Society, has done much to establish the fact of the existence of such a doctrine. I will, in this paper, endeavour to add some more evidence to that contributed by him and other Assyriologists. The text I have chosen as most fully illustrating this doctrine as held by the Assyrians, is the twelfth Izdubar legend. This legend, which is the last of that famous cycle of Chaldean legends, relates to the state of the soul of Hea-bani, the companion and counsellor of Izdubar, after death. Before proceeding to consider this legend, it will be as well to retrace our steps, and examine the relations of Izdubar and Hea-bani, as related in the preceding tablets.

The first of the Izdubar legends, of which we possess but a very small portion, appears to relate to the siege of Erech by a foreign nation, whose ships () had come into the river. In this account we find the gods taking part in the war, and the goddess Istar is spoken of as being able to render no assistance; and the other gods, being overpowered with fear, transformed themselves into flies. We read (K 3200):—



Ili sa Uruk su - bu - ri

The gods of Uruk Suburi (the blessed)

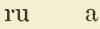


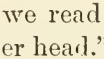
it - tu - ru a - na zu - um - bi - e

turned to flies.

And a few lines on we read that "Istar against the enemy could not hold up her head."

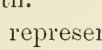
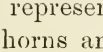
Of the termination of this siege we know nothing, but probably Izdubar was instrumental in delivering the city, and became king of the land.

After his accession to the throne, Izdubar has a dream, which no one in his court can explain, but some one tells him of a very wise man named Hea-bani, who lives in a wild remote place. Izdubar, on hearing of this, sends his court huntsman, named *Zaidu*, to go and bring *Hea-bani* to Erech. In the third tablet of these legends we have an account of this expedition of *Zaidu* (). By the direction of Izdubar he takes two women with him to tempt Hea-bani () to leave his den, and come to the court of Izdubar.

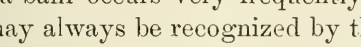
Hea-bani sees these women, who stand in the mouth of his den, and he comes and speaks to one of them. She tells him of all the greatness of Izdubar, the  bu-va-li e-mu-ki = the giant of strength, and of all the wonders of his city of Erech; and at last she induces him to come and see Izdubar. Having seen

Izdubar, he becomes his companion and friend, aiding him by his counsel and advice, and assisting him in his labours with his strength.

Hea-bani is represented as a *satyr*, having the body of a man, with the horns and legs of a goat or ox. The figure of Hea-bani occurs very frequently on the seals and gems, and may always be recognized by these characteristics.[1]

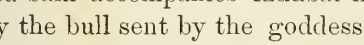
Hea-bani accompanies Izdubar in his labours, assists him to slay the bull sent by the goddess Istar against Izdubar as a punishment for refusing her amours. This occurs in the sixth tablet (W.A.I. IV, 48). Of the seventh tablet, we have so small a portion that of its contents, nothing can be said; but of the eighth we have several fragments. In this tablet Hea-bani, who is accompanying Izdubar on a journey, is slain by some creatures called *Mikie* () and *Tam-būkku*  tam-bu-uk-ku; but of the nature of these creatures we know nothing as yet. The ninth tablet opens with a lamentation of Izdubar over Hea-bani.

From the Ninth Izdubar Legend (K 3060):—

1. 

Iz - du - bar a - na Hea - bani ip - ri - su

Izdubar for Hea-bani his friend

2. 

... cir - i - bak - ki - va i - rap - pu - ud zir

..... *wept and lay out on the groun*

3.

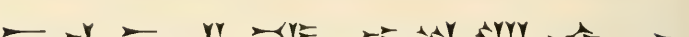
A - na - ku a - mat ul - ki - i Hea - bani

I the advice have taken of Hea-bani

va - a

also

[1] Cullimore, Oriental Cylinders, Plate XVIII, 83, 94, 95; XIX, 98; XXI, 105, 110; XXII, 169.

4. 

ni - iṣ - ṣa a - tu i - te - ru - ub ina

Bitterness *entered* *into*

kar - si - ya

my soul

5.

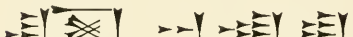
mu - ta ab - luḫ va a - rap - pu - ud zir

Death *I feared* *and* *lay down on the ground.*

6.

a - na li - id Ḥaṣis - adra ablu

To *find* *Ḥasis-Adra* *son of*



Ubaru tu - tu

Ubara-Tutu

7.

ur -kha lakh- ta - ku - va kha - an - si al - lik

The way *I was taking* *and* *joyfully* *I went.*

NOTES.

Line 2. *ibbakki-va*, wept. Compare בכה flevit.

irappud, lay down, at full length. This was a very strong expression of sorrow. Compare this with the mourning of David, as given in 2 Kings xii, 16.

Line 4. *nisatu*, bitterness.

The tenth and eleventh tablets of this series are devoted to the journey to, and interview with, Ḥaṣis-adra, the Chaldean Noah; but in the twelfth tablet we again find Izdubar lamenting over his friend and companion, *Hea-bani*.

Of this tablet half the obverse is gone, therefore we commence the translation in the middle of the narrative; but from the nature of the portion remaining, and preceding events, it seems to me that the contents may have been as follows :—

The three columns of the obverse contain a lamentation and incantation uttered over the body of Hea-bani. In this, Izdubar appears to be assisted by a seer, or magician, who raises the spirit, or u-tuk-ku, of Hea-bani.

The fourth column contains a dialogue between Izdubar and this seer; and the sixth column (the fifth is lost) an account of the spirit of Hea-bani in Heaven, in peace after its wandering in Hades.

There is something extremely beautiful in this primitive lamentation over the body of a dead warrior and friend. We may see, in the description drawn here of the utter helplessness of the cold dead body, somewhat the same feeling that prompted David to say, "How are the mighty fallen!" The lack of power to use the bow or staff, and above all the "derision by the captives"; which, again, may be compared with the anxiety of David to keep the death of Saul and Jonathan from the ears of the Philistines, "lest the uncircumcised triumph."

The statements in lines 14–17 furnish us with an insight into the domestic life in Assyria or Babylonia, at a very early period. The favourite wife is kissed and exalted, whilst the less fortunate rival is beaten and forced to do the menial work of the house. The same applies to the children, and by the use of *maru*, it would seem to indicate that this applied equally to girls as well as boys.

> "The enfolding of the earth has taken thee.
> Oh Darkness! Oh Darkness! Mother Ninazu! Oh Darkness!
> Her mighty power, like a cloak, has covered thee."

These lines contain one of the most beautiful similies yet met with in the Assyrian texts. Mother Ninazu, would be Davkina, or Nin-ki-gal, the wife of Hea, the Proserpine of the Assyrian Pantheon, the Queen of the Hades, or Underworld.

Nin-a-zu, as the wife of Hea, was the female deification

of the Earth, and thus explains the expression "*irizitu i zabat su*," "the Earth took him," A curse (*namtar*), or fever (*asakku*) did not take him, but the Earth, his *mother*, takes him. As his name indicates Hea-bani (Hea makes) is the son of *Hea* the Earth, and as such, Nin-a-zu is his *mother*. Even to the Assyrian, Earth was mother!

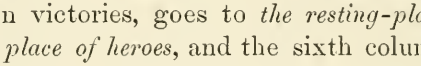
This idea of death wrapping round Hea-bani like a cloak is very fine.

"The resting-place of Nergal did not take him." This applies to the deceased Hea-bani in his character of a warrior, Nergal being the god of war. The region of Nergal is called "asar takhazi-zikari," "the place of the battle of the heroes" (or renowned). The expression "ra-bi-ẓ," "Nergal," the resting-place of Nergal, is a very beautiful idea. The weary warrior, after the well-fought fights and hard-won victories, goes to *the resting-place* of the god of war, *the place of heroes*, and the sixth column of the inscription furnishes us with a description of this *Val-halla* of the Assyrian pantheon to which Hea-bani is finally admitted.

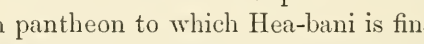
The description of Heaven as given in this inscription is very curious, as it resembles the accounts met with in the Scandinavian and Norse legends rather than those of Semitic people.

I now give a translation of Columns I and II, with a portion of Column III, it being too mutilated to give in full, and Columns IV and VI in full.

Column I.

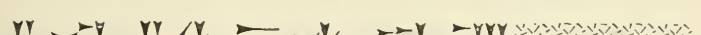
1. 

Iz- du -bar .....

2. 

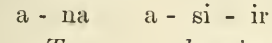
sum -ma a - na .....

When *to* .....

3. 

a - na a - si - ir - ti at - ta .....

To happiness thou (art not admitted)

4. 

zu - ba - ta za- ca - a

a pure dress (thou dost not wear).

5.

ki - ma u - ba - ra ta - ma... e - mar

Like the glow

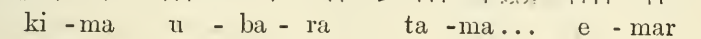
6.

sa man bu - u - ri da - a - ba

with the enlightening of good

la tap - pa - si ka

they do not o'erspread thee.

7. 

a - na i - ri - si su lab - khu - ru - ka

To its inheritance they do not choose thee

8.

mit - pa - na a - na irzituv la - ta - na - sic

The bow from the ground thou dost not take

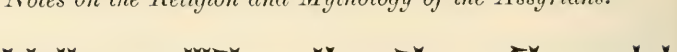
9.

sa i - na mit - pa - na [nu] makh - khaz

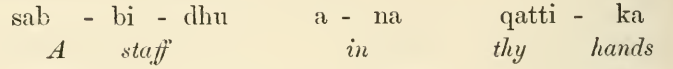
Who with the bow to strike

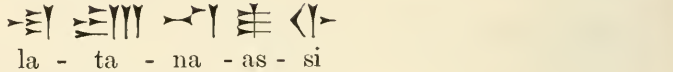
..... i - lav - vu - ka

..... *gather round thee.*

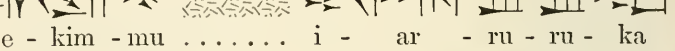
10. 
sab - bi - dhu a - na qatti - ka
A staff *in* *thy hands*

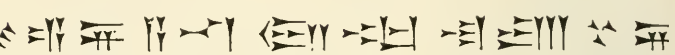
la - ta - na - as - si
thou dost not carry.

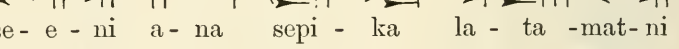
11. 
e - kim - mu ..... i - ar - ru - ru - ka
The captive ..... *abhors thee (or curses thee).*

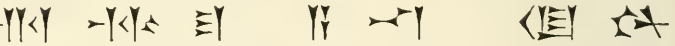
12. 
se - e - ni a - na sepi - ka la - ta - mat - ni
A support to thy feet thou dost not use.

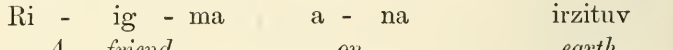
13.
Ri - ig - ma a - na irzituv
A friend *on* *earth*

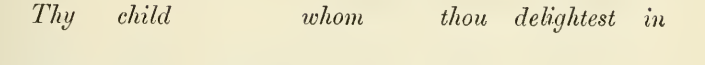

la - ta - sak - kan
thou dost not make.

14. 
as - sat - ka sa ta - ram - mu
Thy wife *whom* *thou delightest in*

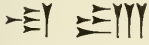

la - ta - na - sic
thou dost not kiss.

15. 
as - sat - ka sa ta - zi - ru
Thy wife *whom* *thou despisest*


la - ta - makh - khaz
thou dost not beat

16. 

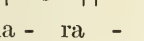
ma - ra ka sa - ta - ram - mu
Thy child whom thou delightest in



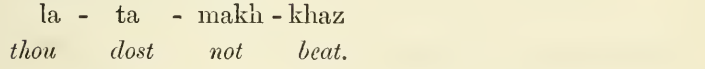
la - ta - na - sic
thou dost not kiss.

17.

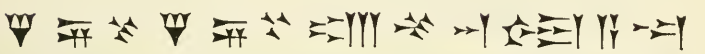
ma - ra - ka sa ta - zi - ru
Thy child whom thou despisest



la - ta - makh - khaz
thou dost not beat.

18. 

Ta - si - mi - ti irzituv i - iṣ - bat ka
The enfolding of the earth has taken thee.

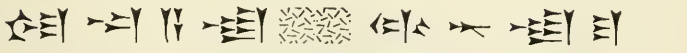
19. 

sa zal-mat sa zal-mat um - mu Nin - a - zu
Oh darkness, Oh darkness, Mother Ninazu,

sa zal - mat
Oh darkness,

20.

Elibu sa el - li - e - tuv
Her mighty power (as)



zu - ba - a - tu ..... ul - tar - tu va
a garment (cloak) ..... covers thee.

Column II.

All the upper portion is lost.

1\. ma - [ra sa] i - ram - mu i - na - sic
The child who he loves he raises up (*or kisses*).

2\. ma - [ra - sa] i - zi - ru im -khaz
The child who he hates he strikes.

3\. Ta - zi - im - ti irzituv i - za -bat- su
The enfolding of the earth has taken him.

4\. sa zal-mat [sa zal-mat um - mu Nin - a - zu
Oh darkness! Oh darkness! Mother Ninazu!

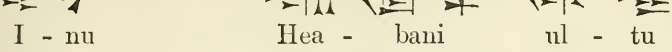
sa zal -[mat]
Oh darkness!

5\. ellipu - sa el - li - e - tu zu - ba - ta
Her noble strength (*like*) *a cloak*

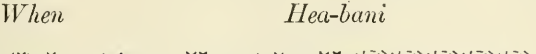
ul - tar - tu -su
covers him.

6\. i - pu - ur
. . . .

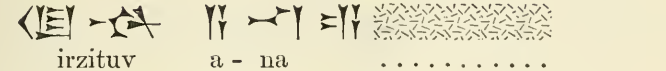
. . . .
. . . .

7. 

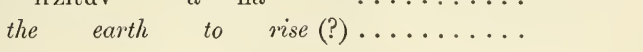
I - nu Hea - bani ul - tu
When *Hea-bani* *from*



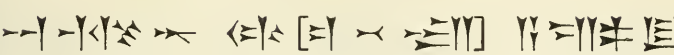
irzituv a - na .....
the earth *to* *rise* (?) .....

8. 

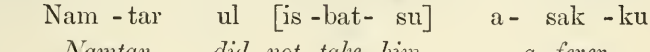
Nam - tar ul [is - bat - su] a - sak - ku
Namtar *did not take him,* *a fever*



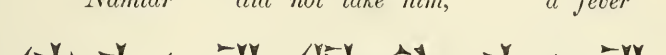
ul is - bat - su irzituv is - bat - su
did not take him, *the earth* *took him.*

9. 

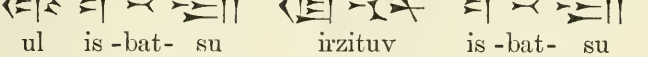
ra - bi - [is Nergali] la - khad - du - u
The resting-place *of Nergal* *the unconquered*



ul - iz - bat - su irzituv iz - bat - su
did not take him, *the earth* *took him.*

10. 

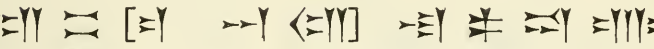
a - sar ta - kha - as zi - ka - ri
The place *of the battle* *of the heroes*



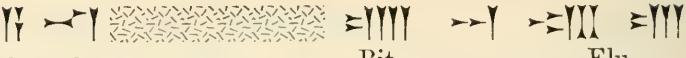
ul - im - khaz - su irzituv iz - bat - su
did not strike him, *the earth* *took him.*

11.

I - nu ..... ni abli Nin - sun
When ..... *ni* *son of* *Nin-sun*

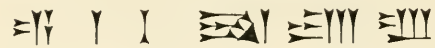


ana ardu - su Hea - bani i - bi - ki
for his servant *Hea-bani* *he wept.*

12. 

a - na ....., ... Bit - Elu

To ..... *the temple of Bel*



e - dis - su it - ta - lak

alone he went.

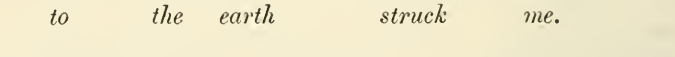
13.

A - bu Elu Tam - bu - uk - ku

Father Bel Tambukku

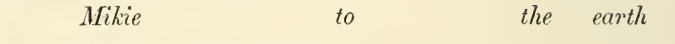
a - na irzituv im - khaz an - ni

to the earth struck me.

14. 

Mi - ki - e a - na irzituv

Mikie to the earth

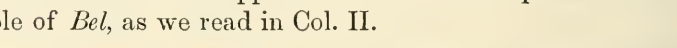


im - khaz an - ni - va

struck him me.

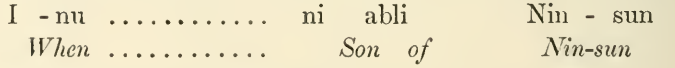
THE RAISING OF THE SPIRIT OF HEA-BANI.

This curious scene appears to have taken place in the temple of *Bel*, as we read in Col. II.

(*a*) 

I - nu ..... ni abli Nin - sun

When ..... Son of Nin-sun



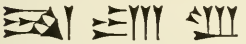
ana ardu - su Hea - bani i - bi - ki

for his servant Hea-bani wept.

(*b*)

..... ana bit Elu e -dis-su

..... *to the temple of Bel by himself*



it - ta - ru

he turned

And thus lays the matter before Bel:—

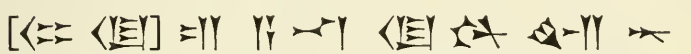
(*c*)

A - bu Elu Tam - bu - uk - ku

Father Bel Tambukku

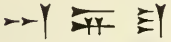
a - na irziti im -khaz- an - ni

to the ground has struck me.

(*d*) 

Mi - ki - e a - na irzituv im - khaz

Mikie to the ground has struck



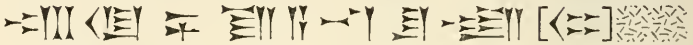
an - ni - va

me.

Then by the assistance of one of the priests or magicians of the temple, he has a vision or *séance* in which the spirit of Heabani is raised from the ground, and by the intercession of Izdubar, and by means of prayers and sacrifices, is admitted to peace in Heaven.

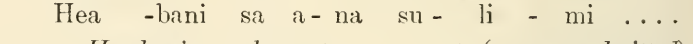
Column III.

Of this Column we possess a small portion of the upper part of it, this I will call No. 1.

1. 

Hea -bani sa a - na su - li - mi ....

Hea-bani who to rest (was not admitted)

2. 

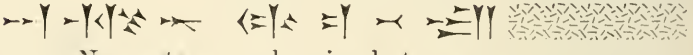
Nam - tar ul iz - bat - su .....

Namtar did not take him, the earth took him

3.

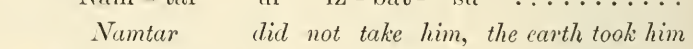
ra - bi - iz Nergali la -khad- du - u ul

the resting place of Nergal the unconquered did



iz -bat- zu irzituv iz -bat- su

not take him, the earth took him.

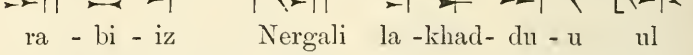
4. 

a - sar ta - kha - as zi - ka - ri

The place of the battle of the heroes

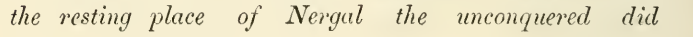
.....

did not take him, the earth took him.

5. 

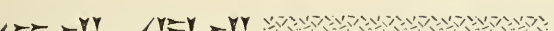
a - bu Elu a - mat ul iz - bat - su

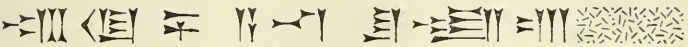
Father Bel amat did not take him

6. 

a - bu Sin tam - bu - uk - ki .....

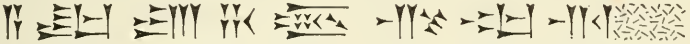
Father Sin Tambukku .....

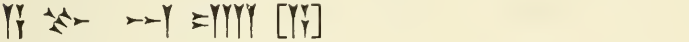
7. 
Mi - e ki - e .....
Mikie .....

8. 
Hea -bani a - na su - li - ma .....
Hea-bani *to* *peace* (*rest*) .....

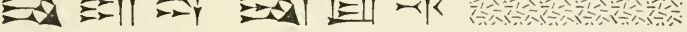
Fragment 2.

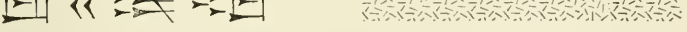
1.
Ra - bi - iz Nergali la -khad- du -u .....
The resting place *of Nergal* *the unconquered* .....

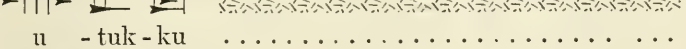
2. 
a - sar ta -kha- as zi - ka - ri .....
The place *of* *the battle* *of* *the heroes* .....

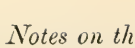
3. 
a - bu Hea
Father *Hea*

4.
a - na qar - ra - di Marduk
To *the* *warrior* *Marduk*

5. 
qar - ra - du id - lu - ti .....
The *warrior* *heroic* .....

6. 
ip -nis- tak - ka va .....
The divider (?) .....

7. 
u - tuk - ku .....
The Spirit .....

8. 

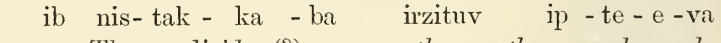
a - na a - bu su

To his father

9.

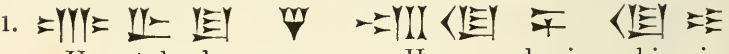
qar - ra - du id - lu - ti Marduk .....

The warrior heroic Marduk .....

10. 

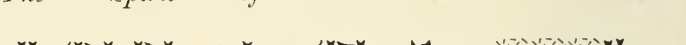
ib nis- tak - ka - ba irzituv ip - te - e -va

The divider (?) the earth opened and

11. 

U - tuk - ku sa Hea - bani ki - i

The Spirit of Hea-bani as

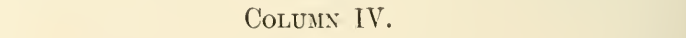


za - ki - ku ultu irzituv .....

glass from the earth rose (?)

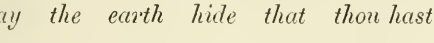
In Column IV, we have the account of the effect of this raising of the soul (*uttuc*) of Hea-bani, on Izdubar (?) and the assisting magician overcome with mental exertion and grief; they weep and mourn, and they make an agreement to keep all secret—"Let the earth conceal all thou hast seen." What a curious parallel is here afforded to the interview between Saul and the Witch of Endor. (1 Samuel xxviii, 7-25). Here Saul, overcome with fasting and the excitement of the interview with Samuel, "falls prostrate on the ground, and was sore troubled."

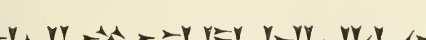
Column IV.

1. 

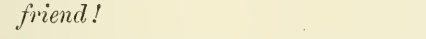
Ki - ba - a ip - ri ki - ba - a ip - ri

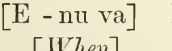
Mysterious friend, mysterious friend,

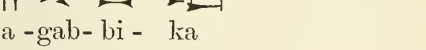
2. 
lik - tim irzituv sa ta -mu- ru ki - ba - a
May the earth hide that thou hast seen, mysterious

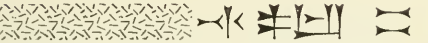
3. 
ul -a -gab- ba - ku ip - ri ul -a-gab- ba - ku
I will not tell to thee, friend! I will not tell to thee,

ip - ri
friend!

4. 
[E - nu va] lik - tim irzituv sa a - mu- ru
[When] the earth covers that I have seen


a -gab- bi - ka
I will tell thee.

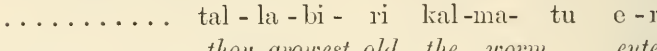
5. 
. . . . . ti - sab bi - ki
. . . . . *thou sittest weeping.*

6. 
. . . . . lu - sib - it - va lu - ub - ki
. . . . . *may he sit! May he weep!*

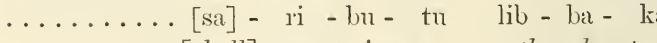
7.
. . . . . sa - ri - bu - tu va lib - ba - ka
. . . . . *shall cause to increase, and thy heart*

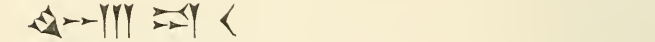
ikh - du - u
shall rejoice

8.
. . . . . tal - la - bi - ri kal - ma - tu e - rib
. . . . . *thou growest old the worm enters*

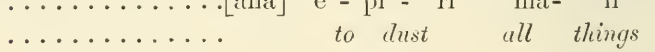
9. 
. . . . . [sa] - ri - bu - tu lib - ba - ka
. . . . . [*shall*] *cause to increase; thy heart*

ikh - du - u
shall rejoice

10. 
. . . . . [ana] e - pi - ri ma - li
. . . . . *to dust all things*

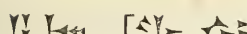
11. 
. . . . . it - ta - pal si - ikh
. . . . . (*when?*) *thou hast passed corruption*

12.
. . . . . it - ta - pal si - ikh
. . . . . (*when*) *thou hast passed corruption*

13. 
. . . . . a - ta - mar
. . . . . *I shalt see*

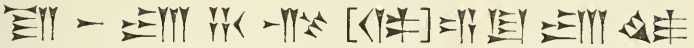
Column VI.

1.
Ina ma - ,ai li a - lil - va
On a couch reclining and

2. 

mi pi - zu - ti i - sat - ti

Pure waters he drinks

3. 

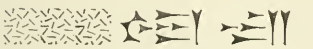
sa ina ta - kha - zi di - e - ku ta - mur

who in the battle was slain(?) thou seest

4.

abu-su ummu-su risa - su .....

his father and his mother his head support

5. 

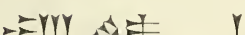
..... assat - su bi - ka madu

and his wife weeps much

6.

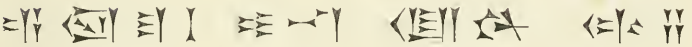
sa sa - lam - ta - su ina ziru .....

Those who (are) his friends on the ground .....

7. 

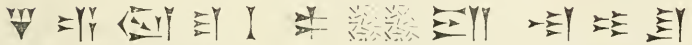
ta - mur a - ta - mar

Thou seest (and) thou shalt see

8. 

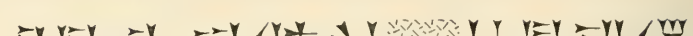
e - kim - ma i - na irzituv

His spoil on the ground

9. 

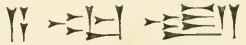
sa e - kun - ma - su la - i - su

of his spoil he has not

10. 

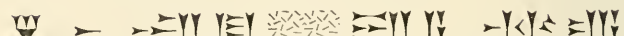
su - ku - la ad - di - qa . . . . . ku - si - pat

The captives conquered come after



a - ka - li

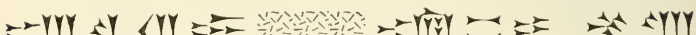
foods

10. 

sa ma zu - ku . . . . . da - a ik - kal

which in the tents . . . . . are eaten

Colophon.



Dippi XII . . . . . Nak - bi - i - mu ru

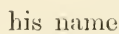
The twelfth tablet . . . . . of the fountain he has seen

Hea-bani.

Hea-bani, the hero of this ancient story, is one of the most curious characters yet met with in the legends of Assyria, and to me seems to bear a close resemblance to the Greek deity *Pan*.

Pan was the god of flocks and shepherds amongst the Greeks, and remote wild places, such as reed beds and damp caves were supposed to be his abode. In works of art he is represented as a sensual being, with horns, puck nose, and goat's feet.

The Romans identified Pan with *Faunus*, who besides having the attributes of the Greek god, was also the inspirer of oracles. Pan was usually called the son of *Hermes*.

Hea-bani, as his name indicates, was the creation of the god *Hea* or  , a god who combines in his various titles and attributes, those of several

classical deities. Primarily he may have been identified with Poseidon or Neptune, but as the god of the lower worlds he resembles Pluto; again in his character of wisdom and counsel he resembles Hermes. In the Deluge Tablet he is spoken of as "Hea, who knows all things." Hea-bani therefore derives all his wisdom and knowledge from his patron god.

Hea-bani is represented in the text as dwelling in a remote place, three days' journey from *Erech*, the city of Izdubar, and as living in a cave and associating with the *bulu*, or cattle of the field, and the *simmasi*, or creeping things of the field. The exposure of the women before his den, and the subsequent events of the text, are well suited to the nature of the classic god.

The deification of Hea-bani probably followed on his gaining admittance to Heaven, but I have not as yet met with the name in any other texts than the Izdubar legends.

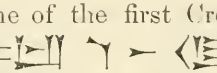
Notes.

The religion of Assyria was in constitution essentially a nature worship; its pantheon was composed of deifications of nature powers. In this opinion I know I differ considerably from other Assyriologists, Mr. Sayce and M. Lenormant and others being of the opinion that the system was one of solar worship. I will here give a few reasons which have led me to adopt this theory.

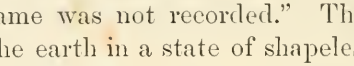
1. The first beginnings are the blending of two nature powers, the abyss (*abzu*) and the sea (*tiamat*); these produce Moimis,[1] who, according to Mr. Smith, is the Mummu of the Creation Tablet,[2] and with him I am inclined to agree, whilst Mr. Sayce identifies it with *Miam*, the waters.[3] The creation and introduction of two deifications of force, Lakima and Lakuma,[4] into this blended mass, tear it in half, producing the upper and lower expanse or place, viz., *Assuri*

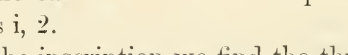
[1] Damascius, Cory, 318.
[2] Chaldean Genesis.
[3] Academy, March 20th, 1875.
[4] Compare Heb. לחם

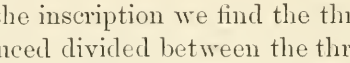
and *Kisuri*. From these spring the first triad of *Anu*, *Bel* or *Elu*, and *Ea*.[1]

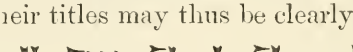
2. The second line of the first Creation Tablet is thus written and read,  *saplis ina irsiti suma la zicrat*, "Below on the earth a name was not recorded." This indicates the existence of the earth in a state of shapeless waste, as described in Genesis i, 2.

3. In the inscription we find the three divisions of nature thus produced divided between the three gods, Anu, Elu, and Ea, and their titles may thus be clearly and briefly stated:—

(1)  That is, *sami rapsuti subat Anu sarri*, the wide heaven the seat of Anu the king.[2]

(2)  *Belu*, *bel mati*, Bel, lord of countries, or the world (all lands).[3]

(3)  *Hea- . . . . asib abzu rabu*, Hea dwelling in the great deep.[4]

In the old Accadian cult, from which the Assyrians borrowed so much of their religion and mythology, each of these deities were recognised as the  zi, or spirit, that is, the "*fetish*" of each of these divisions.[5] Such being the ground-work of the Assyrian system, it was but natural that in its belief in the future life it should admit of two states of being—a happy one in Heaven, a state of torment in Hades; and these we find in the Assyrian inscriptions thus described:—

Heaven, the place of reward for the good, is called "the abode of blessedness,"[6] "the land of the silver sky,"[7] "the house of life," "the land of life."[8] "The wide heaven, the seat of Anu the king." The life of the blessed is described as one of ease; they recline on couches, drinking pure

[1] See Cory, 318, Damascius.
[2] W.A.I. IV, 5-50.
[3] W.A.I. IV, 1, Col. iii, 30.
[4] *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv, pt. 1, p. 153.
[5] Lenormant, "La Magie."
[6] W.A.I. III, 66, iii.
[7] Ibid.
[8] *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv, pt. 1, p. 153.

liquors, in company with friends and relations,[1] feeding on rich foods.[2] The warrior here is surrounded with all the spoil he has gained in battle, the captives are paraded before him, and he feasts in tents.[3]

Such was the Assyrian conception of Heaven; and it is exactly what we should expect from a people whose one great aim in life was war, the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war" would find its fulfilment in this conception of Elysium, "the happy fields."[4] Perhaps there is no one thing which so clearly indicates the character of a nation as the ideas which its people form of the future state, either of the blessed or the wicked. The North American Indian, whose great object in life was to be a great hunter, looks forward to his "happy hunting ground." With most nations who have attained to any degree of civilization the conception of Heaven is a reproduction of their ideal of life on this earth. As the Assyrian life was one of alternate periods of luxurious ease at home and warlike expeditions abroad, followed by the division of spoil and captives: so the Elysium is a continuation of these. Such was the Greek, and the Latin, as well as the Valhalla of the Norseman. In the latter, we find the deceased reclining on his golden bed, drinking "mead" out of golden cups. As yet we have, with the exception of the Twelfth Izdubar Legend, and a few notices in prayers, no direct account of Heaven, but future excavations may produce other texts which will help to clear up this important point in the Assyrian religion.

If in the accounts of Heaven we have to complain of a lack of material from which to gain our information, we have no reason to do so with regard to the texts relating to Hades. We have two principal texts, viz.,

(1.) The legend of Descent of Istar K 162 W.A.I. IV, 31.

(2.) A small fragment printed in W.A.I, IV, 49 No. 2.

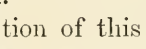
And we have also a number of notices of the land of the departed in mythological fragments in the British Museum Collection.

[1] Twelfth Izdubar Legend, col. iv.

[2] W.A.I. III, 66, iii.

[3] Twelfth Izdubar Legend.

[4] W.A.I. III, 66, iii.

The kingdom of the Underworld was, as I have stated, the realm of the god Hea, and the Hades of Assyrian legends was placed in the Underworld, and was ruled over by a goddess  Nin-ki-gal, or the Lady of the Great Land.

The description of this land, given in the Tablet of the Descent of Istar, is one of the finest pieces of writing yet met with in Assyrian texts.

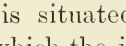
1. To the land of no return, the regions of *corruption*.
4. The house of corruption, dwelling of the god *Irkalla*.
5. To the house whose entrance has no exit.
6. By the road whose going (has) no return.
7. To the house at whose entrance they bridle in the light.
8. A place where much dust is their food, their nourishment mud.
9. Where light they see not, in darkness they dwell, and—
10. Its chiefs also like birds are clothed with feathers.
11. Over the door and threshold much dust.

The Assyrian idea of Hades appears to me to be derived from the ruins of some vast city, or house, which had as it were sunk down into the underworld, and became the "city of the lost." Seven walls encircle it, each with its gate (*babu*) and porter (*nigab*), its outer wall being a watery moat, filled with the "waters of death which cleanse not the hands." The porter of this gate is called "the porter of the waters."

The deceased as he arrived at each gate of Hades was deprived of some article of dress, as was the goddess Istar in her descent. I have little doubt but that we shall find that the objects mentioned in the Istar Tablet as being taken from her, and the order in which they were taken, had a mystic meaning, but as yet I do not see my way to explanation.

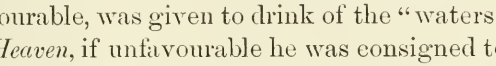
The deceased here symbolised by Istar arrives at last at the innermost circle of this labyrinth. Here is situated the palace of *Nin-ki-gal*, and the palace of justice, resembling the Hall of the Forty-two Accusers in the Ritual of the Egyptians.

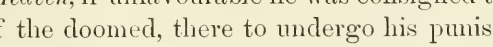
From the statements in lines 20-37, it would appear that the deceased was kept waiting at the gate until the punishment which was to be given to him was decided by the court of Nin-ki-gal.

The Palace of Justice, in which the judgment of the deceased takes place, is situated in the innermost circle. Here is the throne on which the judge sat and delivered the judgment. But the most important point is, *here rose* the stream of the "waters of life" ( mie-balati). This raises the important question, Was the *Hades* here described merely a place of punishment, or, was it a place of *waiting*, in which the deceased underwent a judgment, and if this were favourable, was given to drink of the "waters of life" and rose to *Heaven*, if unfavourable he was consigned to one of the circles of the doomed, there to undergo his punishment? To answer this question decisively as yet seems to me impossible, but I think there appear indications of the Hades being other than a place of torment. The release of *Hea-bani* by aid of Hea and Marduk, and of Istar by the aid of the Phantom, seem to leave some indications of a chance of release. And in a hymn to Marduk, of which I have given a translation, he is called the "*vivificator*," and he who raises the dead to life. But, until we obtain more inscriptions, the question must remain in an unsettled state.

Of the nature of the punishment we know nothing more than that fire formed an element, as well as perpetual hunger and thirst.

NIN-KI-GAL.

W.A.I. II, 59. 

W.A.I. II. 17. 

By these two quotations we learn that Nin-ki-gal was called *Allat*, and was the wife of Hea.

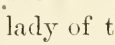
Allat, like *Istar*, is used in the inscriptions in a very general sense, and denotes the begetter, the wife, and is applied to other goddesses.

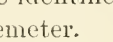
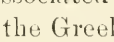
Nin-ki-gal was the wife of *Hea*, *Nin-a-zu* being an Accadian name of Hea. Hea, as his common *Accadian* name indicated, *En-ki*, was the earth, or the god of the earth, that is, in a Plutonic sense.

But *Hea* is one of the most complex of the Assyrian deities in his characteristics, but by aid of his female consorts in each of these characters, we can gain some idea of his powers.

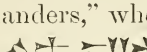
(1). He is associated with a goddess Dav-ki-na, the lady of the earth, that is, the material earth, and she may be identified with the Greek *Γημητηρ*, the earth mother, and Demeter.

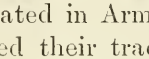
(2). He is associated with *Nin-ki-gal*, and here he may be identified with the Greek god *Aides*, Nin-ki-gal, "the lady of the great land," being the Assyrian Persephone.

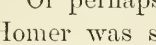
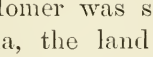
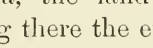
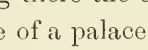
(3). A third character of Hea was the god of wisdom, and here he does not appear to have any companion goddess, without we here connect him with *Bau*  the void, Heb. בהו.

It is with the first two of these that we are most concerned, and Dav-ki-na and Nin-ki-gal may evidently be identified with Demeter and Persephone, "the mother and daughter," though in no case is *Nin-ki-gal* called the daughter of Dav-ki-na, but both are wives of Hea. Mr. Gladstone has pointed out, in his work on the "Mythology of Homer," the strong indications of the Eastern influence in the conception of *Aides* and its queen *Persephone;* this he attributes to Phœnician influence; this is probably right; but may the Phœnicians not have received the idea from Assyria? The god *Tammuz* is evidently the  Dum-zi, the Son of Lie, to seek whom Istar descends into Hades. He also states that the entrance to the underworld was in "the East, by the ocean river, at a full day's sail from the Euxine, in the country of the cloud-capped Kimmerioi." The Kimmerioi are evidently the  the Gi-mir-ra-ai with whom Essarhaddon fought in the north-east of Assyria.

These people, during the period of depression in Assyria, in the eighth century B.C., had come down from the shores of

the Euxine and penetrated as far as Armenia. May they not in the early days have been connected with the primitive *Accadi*, or "highlanders," whose traditions centred round the Kar-sak-Kurra  the "Mountain of the World," situated in Armenia? From these Accadi the Assyrians received their traditions; may not the Gimirrai have done so? Or perhaps at that period at which the mythology of Homer was settled, the Gimirrai may have been in Armenia, the land of the "Karsak Kurra," and hence the placing there the entrance to the Underworld.

The existence of a palace, the  the "Hekal mat Nu-ga," as is also found in the Greek conception of Hades.

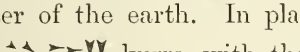
In a magical text I find the following notice of the porter of Hades:  Ne-gab, porter of the earth. In place of  the Accadian has  kurra, with the post position  ge, which denotes *lower*, *under*, so that we must read, Negab. porter of the Underworld.

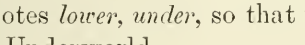
In another text the seven gates of Hades are referred to as the "seven doors (*dalti*) of the Underworld."

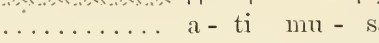
W.A.I. IV, 49, 2.

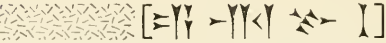
This fragment, which appears to be a portion of the Seventh Izdubar Legend, relates to the descent of Istar into Hades to obtain revenge on Izdubar for refusing her offer of marriage, as narrated in the sixth tablet.

Text.

1. 
   ..... tir - ra - an - ni
   .... *I turn myself*

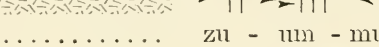
2. 
   ..... [a - na qaq - qa] - ri i - di - ya
   ..... *To the land of my desire*

3. 
..... a - ti mu - sab Ir - kal - la
..... *the abode of the god Irkalla*

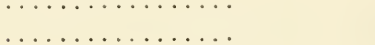
4. 
..... e - ri - bu -su la - a - tzu - u
.... *Its entrance (has) no exit*

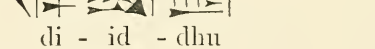
5.
..... . la - ta - ai rat
.... *no return*

6.
..... zu - um - mu - u mu - u - ra
..... *They bridle in the light*

7. 
..... va - a - cal - si - na
..... *and their food*

di - id - dhu
mud

8. 
..... zu - bat gap - pi
..... *are clothed with wings*

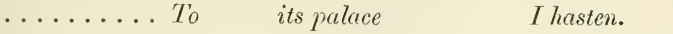
9. 
..... ra ina e - dhu - ti as - ba
..... *in darkness they dwell*

10.
..... sa - e - ru - bu a - na - ku
..... *which I will enter*

11.

. . . . . ana ku - um - mu - su a gu u

. . . . . *To its palace I hasten.*

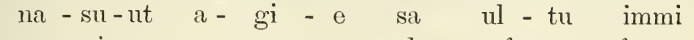
12. 

na - su - ut a - gi - e sa ul - tu immi

wearing crowns who from former

pa - na i - bi - lu ma - a - tu

days ruled the land

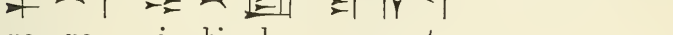
13. 

a - nuv u Elu is tak - ka - nu

Anu and Bel have appointed

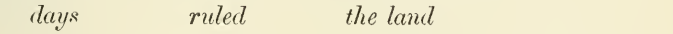
su me - e si - i - ri

it waters stagnant

14. 

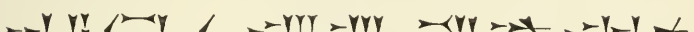
is - tak - ka - nu Ka - zu - ti

they have appointed



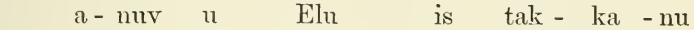
it - tak - ku - u mie na - da - ti

they pour out the waters of streams

15. 

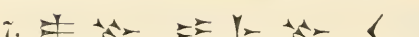
a - na bit ip - ri su e - ru - bu a - na - ku

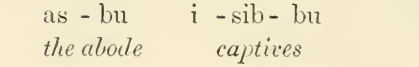
To the house of the earth, which I will enter

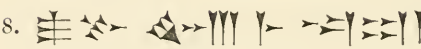
16. 

as - bu e - nu - u - la - ga - ru

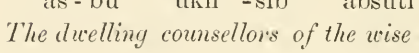
the abode of the afflicted and

17. 
as - bu i - sib - bu D.P. maku - knu
the abode *captives* *great men*

18. 
as - bu ukh - sib absuti sa ili rabati
The dwelling counsellors of the wise things of the great gods

19. 
..... mi - e ..... a - sib Ner
..... *waters* (?) ..... *the seat of the god Ner*

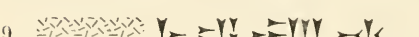
NOTES.

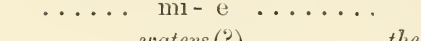
2.  *idi*, desire, may be compared with Heb. ידו amans, or perhaps from *idu* to know.

6. *zūmmu*. Bridle in or hold back. Cf. Targum, זמם bridle.

8. *diddu*, mud. Heb. טיט.

11. *Kummu*, palace or building, a word of frequent occurrence. Cf. W.A.I. IV, 2.


Ina na - kab ab - si - i ina ku - um - mi
In the fountain of the deep in a palace.

Here the *Accadian* has  *e-nun*, a royal house

Aqu, I hasten, perhaps Arab. אגא fugit.

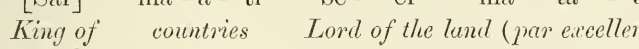
13. *Siri*, stagnant. Heb. שיר, horridus, fœdus.

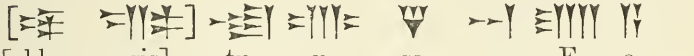
14. *Ittakku*, pour out, from Heb. נתך.

A Hymn to Marduk.

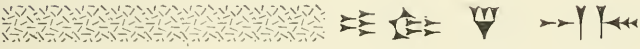
This Hymn, which is found on a tablet, K 2962, printed in W.A.I. IV, 29, is in praise of the god Marduk the Babylonian Demi-urgus. It is very much broken, but some portions can be restored.

1.
[Sar] ma - a - ti be - el ma - tā - a
King of *countries* *Lord of the land* (*par excellence*)

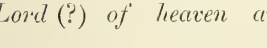
2. 
[ablu ris] - tu - u sa E - a
Eldest *son* *of* *Hea*

3. 
[sa sami] u irzitu su - tu - ru
who *heaven* *and* *earth* *turns* (*or regulates*)

4.

5. 
..... i - lu sa ili
..... *god* *of* *gods*

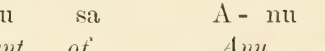
6.
Same u irzituv sa sa - ni - na
Lord (?) *of* *heaven* *and* *earth* *who* *an equal*


la - i - su - u
has *not*

7.

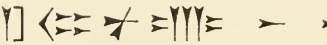
ardu sa A - nu u Elu

Servant of Anu and Elu

8. 

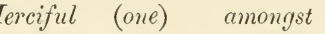
ri - mi - nu - u ina ili

Merciful (one) amongst the gods

9. 

ri - mi - nu - u sa mi - ta bul - lu - da

Merciful one who dead to life



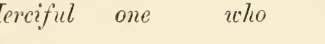
i - ram - mu

raises

10.

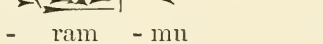
Marduk sar - ru sami u irzitu

Marduk king of heaven and earth

11. 

Sar Ba - bi - lim be - el Bit Sag - ga - al

King of Babylon and Lord of Bit Saggal

12. 

Sar Bit - zi - da be - el Bit - Makh - ti - la

King of Bit Zida Lord of Bit Makhtila

13.

Same u Irsitu ku - um - mu

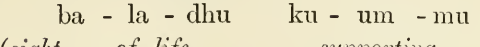
Heaven and Earth supporting

14.

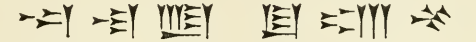
E - ma Same u Irsitu ku - um - mu

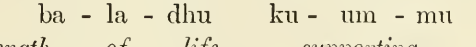
The circuit of Heaven and Earth supporting

15.
Eni - sa ba - la - dhu ku - um - mu
The eye (sight of life supporting

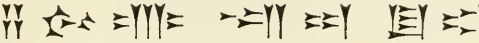
16. 
i - mat ba - la - dhu ku - um - mu
The strength of life supporting

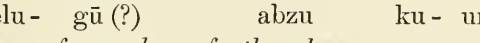
17.
sar elu - gū (?) abzu ku - um - mu
Noble king of oracles of the deep supporting

18. 
a - mi - lu - tu ni - si ni - sat qaqadu
among mankind the man who raised a head

19. 
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

20.
kip - rat ir - bit - ti ma - la ba - sa - a
the four races the whole of them.

21. 
Ilgi sa - kis - sat sami - u - irzituv
The Spirits of the Hosts of Heaven and Earth

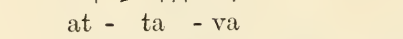
22. 
ma - la ba - sa - a
the whole of them.

The rest of the obverse is very much broken, but the Hymn is continued on the reverse.

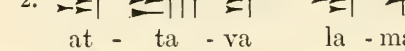
REVERSE.

1.
at - ta - va
Thou also art

2.
at - ta - va la - mas - su
Thou also (art) the powerful one

3. 
at - ta - va mu - bal - laḍ
Thou also (art) the life-giver

4.
at - ta - va mu - sal - li im
Thou also (art) the prosperer.

5. 
Ri - mi - nu - u ina ili
Merciful one among the gods.

NOTES.

Col. I, Line 3. *Asirte.* Compare Heb. אשר felicitas.

„ „ 4. *Zacā*, pure. Compare Heb. זך purus.

„ „ 5. *Ubara*, perhaps borrowed from the Accadian Ubara, as in Ubara-Tutu, and has the meaning of *the glow.*

„ „ 7. *Lab-khuru-ka*, they do not choose thee. Compare Heb. בחר delegit.

„ „ 8. *Lata-na-sic*, thou dost not raise. Compare Heb. נשך removit, or perhaps Heb. נָשַׁךְ momordit, in the sense of take firm hold of.

Col. I, Line 9. *Makh-khaz*, strike. Compare Heb. מָחַץ concussit.

Ilav-vu-ka, gather round thee, probably from lavū to cling. Heb. לוּעַ deglutire, or serbere.

„ „ 10. *La-ta-na-si*. Heb. נשׂא sustulit.

„ „ 12. *Seni*, a support. Compare Heb. מִשְׁעָן (root שׁען fulcrum.

„ „ 14. *Tarammu*, thou delightest in, from ramu, to raise, perhaps more correctly rendered whom thou exaltest, and compare Heb. רמם and רוּם elevare.

Ta-na-si-k, kiss. Compare Heb. נשׁק osculatus est.

„ „ 15. *Ta-ziru*. Compare W.A.I. II, 10, iẓru, shall turn from, repudiate.

Col. II, „ 9. *Rabiṣ*, resting place. Compare Heb. root רבץ recubuit.

Col. III, „ 3. *Nergal*, the god of war, meaning the great man

„ „ 7. *U-tuk ku*, a borrowed Accadian word.

„ „ 10. *Ipteva*, opened, פתח aperuit.

„ „ 11. *Zakku*, glass, or a transparent object. Compare Heb. זכוכית Job xxviii, 17, vitrum, crystallus.

Col. IV, „ 8. *Kalmatu*, worm. See list of worms, Delitzsch Assyrische Studien, pp. 79. 85.

BABYLONIAN AUGURY BY MEANS OF GEOMETRICAL FIGURES.

By Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.

Read 7th December, 1875.

Just as astronomical observations were made to serve the purpose of astrological predictions among the Babylonians, so the first beginnings of geometry were bound up with a similar superstition. That considerable progress had been made by the Chaldeans in mathematics is shown not only by the calculations requisite for the solution of various astronomical problems which they attempted, but also by the tables of square and cube roots from Senkereh, translations of which are appended to the present paper. As yet, however, almost our only knowledge of the proficiency of the Babylonians in geometry is derived from the use made of geometrical figures by the augurs and prophets, instances of which will be given below for the first time.

But before we deal with these, it is necessary to remember that the Chaldeans were not the only people among whom the lines and angles of geometry have been degraded to a superstitious office. Astronomy begins with astrology, chemistry with alchemy; and so, too, geometry begins with what we may call grammamancy. To this day this pseudo-science flourishes among the Chinese, and the eight trigrams of Fohi are not only supposed to be the bases and principles of all things, but to act as efficacious charms as well.[1] Even in our own country persons are still to be found who profess

[1] See "Mémoirés des Chinois" (by the Pekin Missionaries), II, pp. 153, 191 (Paris, 1777).

faith in the mystical properties of the pentagon; and we have all heard of the "houses" into which the astrologer divides the heavens. The Greeks, indebted to the East and especially to the Assyrians for the germs of that art and science which they afterwards brought to such marvellous perfection, owed to the East also a lingering belief in the magical properties of numbers and geometrical figures. Philolaus, the true founder of the philosophy ascribed to the semi-mythical Pythagoras, held that the earth was produced from the cube, fire from the pyramid, air from the octahedron, water from the icosahedron, and the universe from the dodecahedron;[1] and τετράγωνος ἀνήρ, "a square man," was the ordinary Greek expression for a person of virtuous character.[2] Among the half-orientalised mystics of a later day similar ideas prevailed. We find the author of the treatise "*de Vita Contemplativa*," a work commonly attributed to Philo, representing the Therapeutæ as holding their great feast on the fiftieth day, "because *fifty* is the most holy and natural number, through the influence of the right-angled triangle, which is the first principle of the origin and existence of the world."[3]

Now, it is very probable that these notions had originally been disseminated from Chaldea, the cradle of the civilization of Western Asia, and we might even add of Europe also. A curious tablet from the library of Assur-bani-pal (marked K 99), now in the British Museum, has been given by M. Fr. Lenormant in his *Choix de Textes Cunéiformes* (III, p. 94), under the title of a "Fragment of the augural explanation of certain figures." The whole of the reverse and the first column of the obverse are unfortunately entirely gone; so also are the beginning and end of the second column. What is left I give here, together with a translation.

[1] Stob. Ecl. I, p. 10, compared with Plut. de Pl. Ph. II, 6; and see Aristotle Met. N. 5.

[2] Aristot. Eth. Nic. I, 10, 11.

[3] πεντηκοντάς ... ἁγιώτατον καὶ φυσικώτατον ἄριθμον, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου δυνάμεως, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως ὡὶ συστάσεως. Ed. Gelen., p. 899.

L

[Five lines are wanting here.]

M

1

enuva tucultu .....

When the augury .....

2.

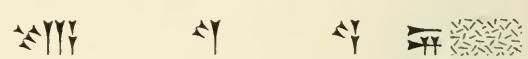
tucultu imuu .....

the augury on the right hand (is made) .....

3.

libitu(?) śarr-u sanna .....

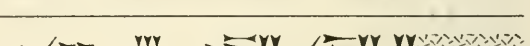
The omen (is): the king for a year .....

4. 

cara yuma tsabu ibassi ....

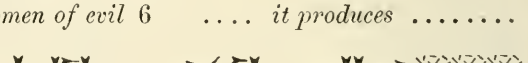
(in) the fortress during the day the soldier is ....

N

5. 

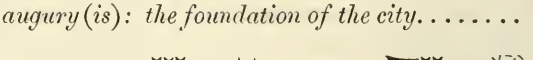
adamatu VI *li* ibanna .....

An omen of evil 6 .... *it produces* .....

6. 

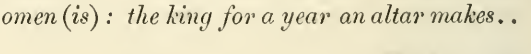
tucultu isit ali .....

The augury (is): the foundation of the city .....

7. 

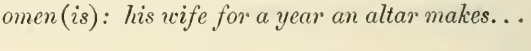
libitu(?) śarr-u sanna ciśalla ibanna ..

The omen (is): the king for a year an altar makes ..

8. 

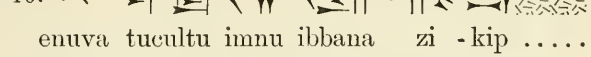
libitu(?) allatu su sanna ciśalla ibanna ...

The omen (is): his wife for a year an altar makes ...

9. 

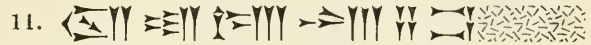
a - tsi - tuv izz - az .....

exit is allowed .....

10. 

enuva tucultu imnu ibbana zi -kip .....

When the augury on the right is made, a stake.....

11. 

kharats TSI - IL birku za-kip.....

the production of life the lightning the staking....

12.

enuva tucultu .....

When the omen .....

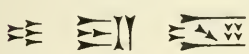
Much more perfect is another tablet of the same nature (marked K 2087), a copy of which I owe to the kindness of Mr. W. Boscawen. This is as follows:—

COLUMN I.

1.

D.P. silik - ma

The god who protects the land (probably Merodach).

2. 

i - da - az[1]

smites

3.

limnis

in hostile fashion

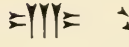
4.

limnuti - su

that which is hostile to him.

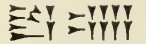
[1] Perhaps Aram. דעין 'to infix.'

5.
dum - ka
Prosperity (this figure)

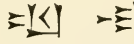
6. 
yu - sat - lim - su
conferred on him;

7.
yu - cin - su
it established for him

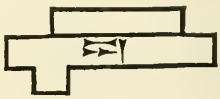
8.
tag - li - me[1]
offspring.


dumku
Omen of luck.

---

9. 
al - la - tu
A wife

10.
sa ur - khi
on the road


[within the figure is the ideograph of "journeying."]

11.
i - du - us - su
his hand

12.
i - ba - ah[2]
obtains.

---

[1] Cf. Heb. גֹּלֶם "the embryo."

[2] Literally "comes to" (בוא).

13. GAR- CA[1] anani[2] GAR- CA III TI - IM GID - DA[3]

The configuration of a geometrical figure of 3 *lines.*

[The ideograph inside the figure means "great."]

14. tap - rat[4]

delight.

15. dumku

Good luck.

16. śa

a bond (?)

[in both Assyrian and Babylonian forms.]

17. tap - ga

Double (*lines*)

18. ina RAT

In the arc (?)

[*Symbol of a degree.*]

IL

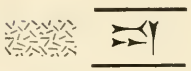
of heaven (?)

[1] The Accadian words signify literally "the making of a form" or "outline," "delineation."

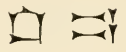
[2] is explained in the syllabaries as *lavu* (Heb. לוה) or *ananu*.

[3] Literally "long ropes" or "lines," *tim* in Accadian being "cord" or "line." The words refer to the figures which follow.

[4] The words, however, may be Accadian, "a double arc," referring to the preceding figure.

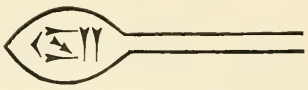
19. 

[The ideograph of "walking" beween the two lines of a path.]



GIL CIP

enclosure of (?)

20. 

[The ideograph of "creation" within the figure.]

21.

alu isittu

a city (*and its*) *foundation.*

Column II.

1.

libitu (?) yu - ma

Omen: during the day[1]

2.

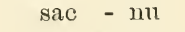
libitu (?) gap itstsuri issacan

Omen: the wing of a bird is made.

3.

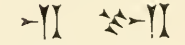
libitu (?) sac - nu

Omen: established.

4. 

libitu (?) khu - uts - ba

Omen: (for) cutting.

5. 

libitu (?) lamad giri nacari

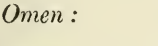
Omen: knowledge of the invasions of the foe.

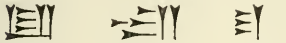
[1] Or *sarsu mā*, "an omen of good (is) this."

6.
libitu(?) damka - ta - su
Omen: good luck to him.

7.
dibbu erba - mā
the tablet one enlarges as above.

[About three lines lost.]

11. 
radd - u lamadi
addition of knowledge:

12. 
sa la id - u sam(ma)
[*For*] *whoever knows not the same*

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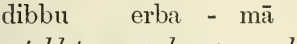
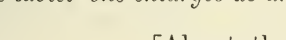
13. 
bunnu[1] ibbanu ana pa - sac - ci[2]
The drawing is made for soothsayings.

---

14. 
ina risi ci - na libitu(?) tsabi
At the head plant (it): the omen (is) an army

libitu(?) mikhiltu
(Another) omen: battle

libitu(?) kharrats pale
(Another) omen: the production of a campaign.

---

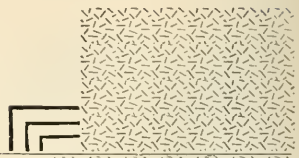
[1] *Bunnu*, "an image," from בנה.

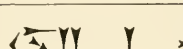
[2] Rabbin. מתפסק "bewitched," רוח פסקונית "spiritus derisorius."

15.

saniyanu

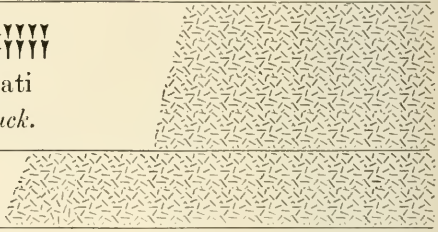
ditto (*i.e. draw the figure*) . . . .

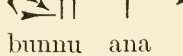


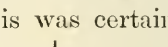
16. 

bunnu ana damkati

a drawing for good luck.



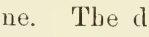


Some of the curious figures delineated on these tablets may have been suggested by the circles, semicircles, and angles into which the heavens were divided for astrological as well as astronomical purposes. This was certainly the case with the two symbols of the degree (✳) given above; and the fragment of an astrolabe discovered by Mr. Smith (marked S 162) has on the back the figure  placed in a compartment by itself, and followed by an account of the kind of weather that would follow the appearance of various stars. In other cases, however, where such events as the building of a city or an altar are dependent on the augury derived from a geometrical figure, the figures seem to have been borrowed from geometry; and we may infer that a superstition prevailed among the Accadians similar to that called *fung shui*, "wind and water," by the Chinese. This assumes an inherent good or bad luck in a place or situation, which must be discovered by careful observation and diligently provided for. The mere influence of a locality determines the fortune of its occupants, and a special kind of geomancy is required to find out beforehand what this influence is likely to be. Straight lines are accounted particularly unlucky, and it is a curious fact that the only figure in the tablets translated above which is strictly connected with the founding and erection of cities and altars is entirely formed of curves.

Besides the figures which may owe their origin to the surveying of the sky and the earth, there are some which seem plainly derived from different objects. The last figure but one may be regarded as an example of this.

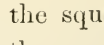
The Accadian origin of the figures and of the explanation attached to them is clearly indicated, not only by the fact that the Accadian text is left untranslated in various places, but also that line 13 of the second tablet, which describes the character of the figures which follow, is wholly in the old Chaldean language, one of the words in it which might be represented by a single sign, *tim*, "a rope" or "line," being written phonetically, not in Assyrian but in Accadian. It is probable that the ideograph inside the semicircle below line 13 is intended to point out that the area within the arc ought to be a large one. The double (Assyrian and Babylonian) form of the character attached to the next figure implies that the text from which the tablet was copied belonged to some Chaldean library, and that for some reason or other, in this particular instance, the original form of the character was preserved along with its Assyrian equivalent.

It is probable that the "Babylonios numeros" of which Horace speaks (Odes I, 11), included geometrical figures as well as mathematical ciphers. This brings me to the tables of square and cube roots from Senkereh, already alluded to, of which I append a translation. The original texts will be found in W.A.I. IV, pl. 40. M. Fr. Lenormant devoted a special work to them as far back as 1868.

1	(from the) root ( )	$\sqrt{1}$ (is) the cube () *badie*)[1]
8	,,	$\sqrt{2}$ (is) the cube.
27	,,	$\sqrt{3}$ (is) the cube.
64	,,	$\sqrt{4}$ (is) the cube.
125	,,	$\sqrt{5}$ (is) the cube.
216	,,	$\sqrt{6}$ (is) the cube.

[1] It is evident, as M. Lenormant has pointed out, that both the Accadian words *badie* "a cube," and *ibdi* "a square," are connected with one another.

343	(from the) root	$\sqrt{7}$ (is) the cube.
512	„	$\sqrt{8}$ (is) the cube.
729	„	$\sqrt{9}$ (is) the cube.
1000	„	$\sqrt{10}$ (is) the cube.
1331	„	$\sqrt{11}$ (is) the cube.
1728	„	$\sqrt{12}$ (is) the cube.
2187	„	$\sqrt{13}$ (is) the cube.
2744	„	$\sqrt{14}$ (is) the cube.
3375	„	$\sqrt{15}$ (is) the cube.
4096	„	$\sqrt{16}$ (is) the cube.
4913	„	$\sqrt{17}$ (is) the cube.
5832	„	$\sqrt{18}$ (is) the cube.
6859	„	$\sqrt{19}$ (is) the cube.
8000	„	$\sqrt{20}$ (is) the cube.
9261	„	$\sqrt{21}$ (is) the cube.
10648	„	$\sqrt{22}$ (is) the cube.
12167	„	$\sqrt{23}$ (is) the cube.
13824	„	$\sqrt{24}$ (is) the cube.
15625	„	$\sqrt{25}$ (is) the cube.
17576	„	$\sqrt{26}$ (is) the cube.
19683	„	$\sqrt{27}$ (is) the cube.
21952	„	$\sqrt{28}$ (is) the cube.
24389	„	$\sqrt{29}$ (is) the cube.
27000	„	$\sqrt{30}$ (is) the cube.
[20791]	„	$\sqrt{31}$ (is) the cube.
[32768]	„	$\sqrt{32}$ (is) the cube.

[1	(from the) root	$\sqrt{1}$ (is) the square. ( *ibdi*)]
[4	„	$\sqrt{2}$ (is) the square.]
[9	„	$\sqrt{3}$ (is) the square.]
16	„	[$\sqrt{4}$ (is) the square.]
25	„	[$\sqrt{5}$ (is) the square.]
36	„	[$\sqrt{6}$] (is) the square.
49	„	[$\sqrt{7}$] (is) the square.

64 (from the) root [$\sqrt{8}$] (is) the square.
81 „ [$\sqrt{9}$] (is) the square.
100 „ [$\sqrt{10}$] (is) the square.
121 „ [$\sqrt{11}$] (is) the square.
144 „ $\sqrt{12}$ (is) the square.
169 „ $\sqrt{13}$ (is) the square.
196 „ $\sqrt{14}$ (is) the square.
225 „ $\sqrt{15}$ (is) the square.
256 „ $\sqrt{16}$ (is) the square.
289 „ $\sqrt{17}$ (is) the square.
324 „ $\sqrt{18}$ (is) the square.
361 „ $\sqrt{19}$ (is) the square.
400 „ $\sqrt{20}$ (is) the square.
441 „ $\sqrt{21}$ (is) the square.
484 „ $\sqrt{22}$ (is) the square.
529 „ $\sqrt{23}$ (is) the square.
576 „ $\sqrt{24}$ (is) the square.
[625] „ $\sqrt{25}$ (is) the square.
[676] „ $\sqrt{26}$ (is) the square.
[729] „ $\sqrt{27}$ (is) the square.
[784 „ $\sqrt{28}$] (is) the square.
[841 „ $\sqrt{29}$] (is) the square.
[900 „ $\sqrt{30}$] (is) the square.
[961 „ $\sqrt{31}$] (is) the square.

[a lacuna here of 12 lines.]

[1936] (from the) root $\sqrt{44}$ (is) the square.
[2025] „ $\sqrt{45}$ [(is) the square.]
[2116] „ $\sqrt{46}$ (is) the square.
[2209] „ $\sqrt{47}$ (is) the square.
2304 „ $\sqrt{48}$ (is) the square.
2401 „ $\sqrt{49}$ (is) the square.
2500 „ $\sqrt{50}$ (is) the square.
2601 „ $\sqrt{51}$ (is) the square.
2704 „ $\sqrt{52}$ (is) the square.

2809	(from the) root	$\sqrt{53}$	(is)	the square.
2916	„	$\sqrt{54}$	(is)	the square.
3025	„	$\sqrt{55}$	(is)	the square.
3136	„	$\sqrt{56}$	(is)	the square.
3249	„	$\sqrt{57}$	(is)	the square.
3364	„	$\sqrt{58}$	(is)	the square.
3541	„	$\sqrt{59}$	(is)	the square.
3600	„	$\sqrt{60}$	(is)	the square.

The sexagesimal system of the Chaldeans allowed their calculations to be made with as much rapidity as our own; and the digits occupied, on the whole, as little room as the Arabic numerals. Indeed in some instances they occupied less: 𒁹, for example marking 3,600, and 𒐈 𒌋𒌋𒌋 37,000. At the same time their system required ready powers of multiplication and addition; a multiple 60 was always understood (like a denominator 60 in the case of fractions), and the difference between the whole sum needed and the result of the multiplication by 60 had to be added. Thus 3,541 is expressed by LIX · I *i.e.*, $59 \times 60 + 1$; 21,952, by VI · V · LII, *i.e.*, $(6 \times 60 + 5) \times 60 + 52$. Such a mathematical facility must have seemed strange to the Semites, whose clumsy mode of representing the numerals by letters of the alphabet fitly reflected their ignorance of the science and the little chance they had of progressing in it.

I may here add that Prof. Cantor, of Heidelberg, in a review of M. Oppert's "L'Étalon des mesures Assyriennes," has pointed out that the formula $\pi = 3$ was known to the Chaldeans, from whom it seems to have been taken by the Babylonian Talmud (*Succah, fol.* 7, *verso*). Prof. Cantor also suggests that the same formula might have been borrowed from Chaldea by the Greeks as well as by the Chinese, to whom it was known (*see* Biot, "Traduction et examen d'un ancien ouvrage chinois intitulé, Tcheou-Pei").

ON THE NUMBERS OF THE JEWS IN ALL AGES.

By Rev. Josiah Miller, M.A.

Read 4th January, 1876.

The statistical history of the Jews may be said to begin with the Divine call of Abraham (Gen. xvii, 1–5), when it was said to him, "Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram (אַבְרָם), exalted father—but thy name shall be called Abraham (אַבְרָהָם), father of a multitude—for a father of many nations have I made thee. And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee." The words "I will make thee exceeding fruitful," in which we have the same word (פָּרָה) as in the original command, "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth," are suggestive of great increase, and may relate to rapid growth of numbers. The way is thus prepared for the large numbers we afterwards meet with. Admitting that the chronology given in the margin of our Bibles is of no authority and of great uncertainty, yet, pending more reliable conclusions, we adopt the date for the call of Abraham, 1898 B.C., from Usher, as usually given in the authorised version.

Advancing to the year 1705 B.C., a period of 193 years, we read that "all the souls of the house of Jacob which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten" (Gen. xlvi, 27), the names of those referred to being given in the chapter. The Septuagint and Acts vii, 14, read "seventy-five," probably adding in the wives of nine of the sons to the sixty-six descendants of Jacob. Have we here a true starting point for statistical calculation and comparison in reference to the Jews? We believe not. We cannot

suppose that this was the whole party that went down to Egypt. It is reasonable to believe that many of their own people accompanied them; it is mentioned that their "households" went with them (Exod. i, 1) and that others joined them afterwards, for Abraham had several other children besides Isaac, and a band of 318 servants born in his house. (Gen. xxv, 1 and 6). And when Jacob and Esau met, Esau had with him 400 men, and Jacob had two bands. (Gen. xxxii, 6, 7). Egypt was a land of plenty, and on that account a place of attraction. Ewald, in his "History of Israel," vol. i, p. 397, says, "We must therefore suppose that a great movement of nations from the north to Egypt took place in the earliest times, and carried the inhabitants of Northern Arabia in multitudes thither." That the little band of voluntary exiles who went to New England in the "Mayflower" should in time have grown to the millions of modern America seems at first sight almost incredible, but when we learn that two and a-half centuries have passed since they went, and that other bands followed them, it becomes less marvellous. The Scriptures are exact in fixing the time the Israelites remained in Egypt (Exod. xii, 40), "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years." And Ewald, who can scarcely be regarded as timid or over-scrupulous in manipulating Scripture dates, adheres to this number, and Bunsen, Milman, and others hold the same view, though on account of some difficulties others have divided the 430, and take 215 as the number of years from the descent of Jacob to the Exodus, and in this they are supported by Josephus. We know what the number of men capable of bearing arms was at the time of the Exodus. Exod. xxxviii, 26, gives the number of the men from twenty years old and upward who paid their half-shekel as 603,550. Numb. i gives an account of the numbering of the men of war in each tribe, and at *v.* 45–6 we read, "So were all those that were numbered of the children of Israel, by the house of their fathers, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war in Israel; even all they that were numbered, were six hundred thousand and three

thousand and five hundred and fifty." This number, multiplied by four to show the total number, including wives and children, gives a total of 2,414,200, and it is thought that the narrative is given as if the narrator had before him census or taxing papers. Two objections are taken to this number. First, the difficulty of reaching it from so small a beginning. But if it be admitted that the rate of increase was the same, for example, as that in this country between 1750 and 1850 —threefold in a century—*i.e.*, from 6,000,000 to 18,000,000; then if it be supposed that as many as 25,000 went in one or more bands down to Egypt at the beginning—the 75 only representing the members of the leading family—then in 430 years the larger number could be reached. It is further objected, that the sandy unproductive peninsula of Sinai, which has at present but 6,000 inhabitants, could not support so great a body of people. The Scripture furnishes an adequate reply to this objection. The people were apprehensive that they should perish from hunger (Exod. xvi, 3), and they were miraculously fed. Probably their flocks and herds were driven from oasis to oasis. It is also to be observed that the fact of their rapid increase is mentioned as the cause of Pharaoh's apprehension. They became so numerous that he feared them, and sought to lessen their numbers by oppression; but the more they were afflicted "the more they multiplied and grew" (Exod. i, 12). These large numbers are in accordance then with the promise to Abraham, and with the acknowledgment of their enemy Pharaoh. We take them as at once a proof of rapid increase in that early period of the history of Israel, and as the true starting-point of the statistics of the people.

To obviate difficulties, it has been proposed to translate the word אֶלֶף *thousand*, "family" or "band," as in Judges vi, 15. We should thus read that 600 households or families came out of Egypt, but this interpretation is only mentioned to be at once dismissed as inconsistent with the facts that the Israelites built treasure cities for Pharaoh, and so multiplied and filled the land as to cause apprehension to the Egyptian monarch that they might become mightier than his people, and with the assistance of others overcome

them. Josephus also gives the larger number, as in Scripture; and Philo-Judæus thus speaks of the Exodus in his "Life of Moses," book 1, chap. xxvii: "Of those who now went forth out of Egypt and left their abodes in that country, the men of age to bear arms were more than 600,000 men, and the other multitudes of elders and children and women were so great that it was not easy to calculate it. Moreover, there also went forth with them a mixed multitude of promiscuous persons collected from all quarters, and servants, like an illegitimate crowd with a body of genuine citizens. Among these were those who had been born to Hebrew fathers by Egyptian women, and who were enrolled as members of their father's race."

In accounting for the rapid increase, due allowance must be made for polygamy. It ought also to be considered that there is a *possible* rate of increase much larger than the ordinary rate,[1] for example, two parents might in a single generation increase to eighteen persons, and even if they themselves died, there would remain an eightfold increase. And the language of Scripture suggests an unusual growth of population. At this rate of increase the larger number could be reached, even if we grant that the time from Jacob's descent to Egypt to the Exodus was only 215 years.

Thirty-eight years later Moses was again commanded to number the people, and the result then obtained is an important confirmation of the correctness of the record of the statistics as given at the earlier date. According to the laws of natural increase, there should have been an addition of perhaps one-third in that time, *i.e.*, some hundreds of thousands. But if there had been such an increase, a census of men capable of bearing arms would have been scarcely necessary. But if there had been special events to prevent the increase of numbers, and even to cause apprehension that the numbers had actually decreased, such a command might have been expected. Now, in addition to the trying circumstances of their wandering, which might be expected to have a repressive effect on the increase of their numbers,

[1] *Vide* Birks' "Exodus of Israel," pp. 29, 30.

there were plagues by which large numbers died. About nineteen years after the Exodus occurred a plague of which we read (Numb. xvi, 49), "Now they that died in the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, beside them that died about the matter of Korah," *i.e.*, several hundreds besides (Numb. xvi, 32 and 35). And of the plague that befell the Israelites just before the census was taken, we read, "And those that died in the plague were twenty and four thousand" (Numb. xxv, 9). And at the beginning of their wanderings, when, after complaint, quails were given, we read (Numb. xi, 33), "And the Lord smote the people with a very great plague." The numbers are not given, but we may suppose thousands died. And soon after, when the people complained, we read (Numb. xxi, 6), "And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died." The expression renders it probable that on this occasion also thousands died. If then we find in a period of less than forty years there were four occasions on which thousands fell, and that in general they were passing through circumstances unfavourable to the increase of population, we may reasonably suppose that at the end of the time, although they had been increasing rapidly just before that time, they would be found either to have remained stationary in numbers, or to have decreased. We find from Scripture that there had been a slight decrease. The numbers of each tribe are given, and we read (Numb. xxvi, 51): "These were the numbered of the children of Israel, six hundred thousand, and a thousand seven hundred and thirty." This multiplied by four gives 2,406,920, a decrease of only 7,280 as compared with the number at the Exodus. In both cases the tribe of Levi is excluded, because their males were not reckoned amongst the fighting men, and because the census was taken differently,—from infancy, instead of from twenty years old. The similarity of the numbers at the end of nearly forty years seems to prove a strong tendency to increase, when we take into account the repressive causes at work and the special losses we have mentioned. Then there is the further general teaching of Scripture, that the forty years' wandering

in the wilderness was in order that a large number might pass away (Numb. xxxii, 11). In order to replace these there must have been a great natural increase. That during this period the Israelites were a great host is confirmed by the fear of Balak, who said, "Behold they cover the face of the earth" (Numb. xxii, 5).

Advancing about 430 years, we come to the important census taken under king David, of which we have two accounts (2 Sam. xxiv, 9): "And Joab gave up the sum of the number of the people unto the king: and there were in Israel eight hundred thousand valiant men that drew the sword; and the men of Judah were five hundred thousand men." But in 1 Chron. xxi, 5: "And Joab gave the sum of the number of the people unto David. And all they of Israel were a thousand thousand, and an hundred thousand men that drew sword; and Judah was four hundred threescore and ten thousand men that drew sword." The difference between the two returns is 270,000, the census being reckoned, we may suppose, on a different plan in one case from that employed in the other, or some military force being in the one case included and in the other excluded. Multiplying the largest number by four, for wives and children, we reach the number 6,280,000 in the times of David's prosperous reign, a number that must have very fully populated Palestine. And we are able to deduce this interesting conclusion, that in about 430 years the Israelites had increased two and a-half times. This is a remarkable increase, because we read (2 Sam. xxiv), that no less than 70,000 fell by the plague that followed the census, and much of the period was spent in war. More than 40,000 fell in one contest between the tribes, the tribe of Benjamin being reduced very low (Judges xx, 25 and 46). Many wars were waged with the Moabites, Canaanites, and Midianites, who were in turn strong enough to hold the Israelites in subjection for years. By these contests and the wars with the Philistines they were much repressed, and suffered great losses. But for these deterring causes their rate of increase would have been, we may suppose, very high.

The extension of population seems to have involved an extension of territory in the days of David and Solomon. (1 Kings iv, 20, 21 and 24): "Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude. And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river unto the land of the Philistines [or *over* the land of the Philistines] and unto the border of Egypt: they brought presents and served Solomon all the days of his life." "For he had dominion over all the region on this side the river, from Tiphsah even to Assah [probably Thapsacus on the Euphrates to Gaza], over all the kings on this side the river: and he had peace on all sides round about him."

The times following the prosperous days of David and Solomon were disturbed by the division of the people and the contest between Rehoboam and Jeroboam, and by wars with Syrians, Moabites and Amalekites. But if we advance to the time when Uzziah was king of Judah (B.C. 800) there is no sign of diminution, but rather we perceive marks of extension and prosperity. He overcame the Philistines and Arabians, and the Ammonites gave him gifts. "his name spread abroad to the entering in of Egypt." He had "a host of fighting men," and the numbers given under the hand of Jeiel, the Scribe, are 2,600 chief officers, and "under their hand an army, three hundred thousand and seven thousand and five hundred, that made war with mighty power, to help the king against the enemy." And if we advance another century to the time of king Hezekiah, we are again reminded of the continued greatness of the military power of the people by the largeness of the army brought against them by Sennacherib. We can form some idea of its magnitude from the fact that 185,000 were smitten in the Assyrian camp in one night and died.

Advancing again somewhat more than a century, we come to the time when the people were conquered, and deported, probably in several large bodies, to Babylon (*vide* 2 Kings xv, 29; xvii, 6; xxiv, 10–16). Some were taken from Samaria, some from Galilee, and the larger part of the population of Jerusalem. We read, "Nebuchadnezzar carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty

men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and smiths: none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land." But we have no important total number of those who were carried into captivity. The impression from the small figures given is that the people had become reduced by their civil war and by the attacks of the Assyrians and Egyptians. Besides those in captivity, many remained behind, and they were joined by others who rallied round Gedaliah. Some, however, at length went into Egypt.

In a great dearth of statistics we have at length the number of those who returned after the seventy years of captivity. (Ezra chap. ii) gives the names and numbers of the families, and says (*v.* 64), "The whole congregation together was forty and two thousand three hundred and threescore." This is a much larger number than we have given in connection with the deportations. And it has been generally held that many remained in Babylon, in Egypt, and other places. This is argued from the length of time many of the families had been settled in the countries of their exile, extending far beyond the seventy years, and Josephus says (Antiq. Book XI, chap. i), "yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions." And in our judgment, the sharp division that is made from this time by some, of the ten tribes and the two, as if they remained apart, is neither reasonable nor according to the Scriptures.

From this point we are launched in a sea of uncertainty with regard to the statistics of the Israelites, without, we believe, anything fixed, until we reach our own time. At the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, Josephus says (Bell. Jud. VI, ix, § 3), "The number of those that were carried captive during this whole war was calculated to be 97,000; as was the number of those that perished during the whole siege, 1,100,000." He explains that they had come from all parts to the Passover, and were shut in by the Roman army. To justify this large number, he says that Cestius, to inform Nero of the power of Jerusalem, learned of the high-priests the number of sacrifices at the Passover, and from this it was seen that the number of those who

joined in the feast was 2,700,200. Josephus had previously spoken of those who came up to the feast as an "innumerable multitude" (Bell. Jud. II, i, § 3). Such numbers, even if greatly exaggerated, would nevertheless, we think, justify the belief that at that time there were four millions of Jews in Palestine, and two or three in countries outside of it. We have details also of the long and terrible conflict carried on with the Roman power, from which we may be sure the number of the Jewish people must have then been considerable. But such losses must have seriously checked their increase. In addition to those that fell at Jerusalem, some hundreds of thousands fell, Josephus informs us, in other places in the same war. Then followed the terrible contest with the Greeks in Egypt in the beginning of the second century, in which more than half a million Jews perished. And now and again in the sad history we read of massacres, as at Alexandria, Seleucia, Cyprus, Damascus, &c., in which in each case several thousands fell.

Of the period preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, Philo, who was a contemporary, says in his "De Legat. ad Caium," chap. xxxi, that "the inhabitants of Judea are infinite"; and he says (chap. xxxvi), that the Jews then were in Asia Minor, Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, Greece, and the islands; that "Babylon and all the satrapies around have Jews settled in them," and that a favour to them is not to one city only, "but to ten thousand of them in every region of the habitable world, in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, on the continent, in the islands, on the coasts, and in the inland parts." See also New Testament, Acts ii, 5–11, a remarkable list of countries whence Jews had come, "out of every nation under heaven." Strabo also bears the same testimony.

Dion Cassius says at the beginning of his History, "The Romans have often lessened the number of the Jews, and yet they have multiplied so extremely that it is not now in the power of laws to extirpate them." He further says that when Julius Severus subdued the revolt in the time of Hadrian, 50 forts were destroyed, and 985 towns and 580,000 men fell in battles, and "so prodigious a multitude perished by famine, sickness, or fire, that it was impossible to count them, in so much that Judea remained a very desert."

Basnage, in his "Histoire des Juifs," book VI, chap. v, § 19, says of losses in Egypt, "It is said that there were a million of Jews dispersed in Egypt, of which the greatest part perished."

The Jews also suffered great losses at the hands of the growing Mahommedan power in Persia, and especially in Arabia, in the seventh century.

It is most disappointing that the statistics given in the Travels of Benjamin of Tudela are so much open to doubt. If they were entirely reliable they would be of the greatest interest, and would give us much light on the statistics of the Jews in the twelfth century. But it has been shown by B. Gerrans, in his dissertation placed before his translation of the "Travels through Europe, Asia, and Africa," 1873, that the numbers given are not reliable, and that it is almost certain that Benjamin did not visit many of the countries of which statistics are given. It is, for example, a singular and suspicious fact that he speaks of China but does not mention Poland, where the Jews were already beginning to be numerous.

But is it not probable, to say the least, that his statistics are approximately true, and accord with the best knowledge of his time. If so, we find that several cities had a much smaller Jewish population than at present; for example, Rome 200, now 5,000; Constantinople 2,500, now 80,000; Thessalonica 500, now 30,000; but that cities near the Euphrates, whose very sites are since lost, such as Hamadan, near Ecbatana, Amaria, and Rudbar, had many thousands of Jewish inhabitants. Mosul, in his narrative, has 7,000, Babylon 20,000. Even supposing the traveller had not visited these places, or even drew to some extent on his imagination, yet he witnesses to a belief in his day in a large Jewish population at or near the places of their former captivity, a view not out of accordance with history, and that receives some sanction from the fact that Layard and other travellers have met with many Jews, probably descended from the ancient resident families, in the same districts in our day, and, in the belief of some, their numbers there are considerable.

Moses of Chorene, the Armenian chronicler, who wrote in the fifth century A.D., speaks of Jews in captivity in Armenia and Persia, who received many favours in the time of Tigranes. And Basnage, who in his history has given much attention to the Dispersion, speaks of the long continuance of the fame of Nehardea, Sora and Pumbaditha near the Euphrates, of the princes of the captivity, and the courts of justice. And the schools of learning, whence the Babylonian Talmud came, were founded there late in this era. But while recognising this step in the movement, it is manifest that at the present time the millions of the Jews are not in Persia, as men fancied formerly; indeed the Jewish population of Bussorah and other towns has decreased in the last century, both in the North and West of Europe. Gibbon's epitome of a somewhat obscure and difficult period in the history of the Jews is singularly inaccurate. He says, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. xv, "The Jews, who, under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, had languished, for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves, emerged from obscurity under the successors of Alexander; and as they multiplied to a surprising degree in the East, and afterwards in the West, they soon excited the curiosity and wonder of other nations." That the Jews declined under the Persians is very doubtful; that they were despised by them he gives on the doubtful authority of fragments of Diodorus Siculus, books xxxiv and xl, and on the authority of the false and scandalous charges that were the result of the prejudice of Tacitus (Hist. v, 1–9). From the twelfth century to our own the Jews have in most countries suffered from repression and from political disabilities and religious persecution. The exile from Spain under Torquemada and the Inquisition, in the 15th century, when several hundred thousand were cast out of the home of their adoption, being a terrible typical instance.

Coming to our own time, we learn two important statistical facts in reference to the Jews, first, that they are increasing at a more rapid rate than the general population, *e.g.*, the "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums," says, "Between 1816 and 1867—a period of 50 years—the general population of Prussia increased 91 per cent., whilst the

Jewish population was augmented by 112 per cent. And from the statistics of Joseph Hain, of Austria, and others, it has been shown that in Austrian Galicia, in 50 years, 1821–1870, the ordinary population increased 25 per cent., and the Jewish population 150 per cent. The same fact has been observed at Bucharest and other places. Pressel and Neufville give similar statistics. The other fact is, that there has been a great increase in the last few years in the number of the Jews. This was remarked recently by the President of the Anthropological Society, and Holland, Switzerland, Bavaria, and Hungary were mentioned as countries in which it was manifest. It has been further stated frequently, although it is not to me certain, that the Jews do not suffer as the non-Jewish population suffer, from acclimatisation. What, then, is the number of Jews in the world at present? If, beginning a century after the destruction of Jerusalem with 6,000,000, they had doubled each century, they would now be as numerous as the present population of the whole world. If they had increased as fast as we have in this country, where we are shut in and lose many by emigration, they would number now 40,000,000 or 50,000,000. Their present numbers we believe to be nearly as follows. Our numbers are based upon those given by Jost, Milman, Kolb,[1] Alexander and others, and corrected by recent returns, and in some cases by inquiries made when visiting the countries themselves. In some cases actual numbers are given from census returns; in others, round numbers. The probability is that the census returns are in some cases below the actual numbers. This applies especially to the large numbers in Russia, where there is a desire to avoid the conscription. In the opinion of some there are a million more Jews in Russia than are found in the census. This would add a million to the total given.

[1] Handbuch der vergleichenden Statistik der Völkerzustands und Staatenkunde, 1857.

EUROPE.

Countries.	Jews.
England	70,000
London, 30,000	
France	95,000
Belgium	3,000
Holland	68,892
Amsterdam, 30,000.	
Switzerland	6,996
Italy	53,000
Rome, 5,000	
Modena, 2,800	
Venice, 3,000	
Sicily, 2,000	
Livorno, 7,688	
Turin, 2,500	
Padua, 2,000	
Sweden	2,000
Norway, Spain, and Portugal	500
Denmark	8,263
Greece and Ionian Islands	5,000
Germany	512,171
Bavaria, 56,000	
Wurtemberg, 12,000	
Berlin, 36,000	
East Prussia, 8,210	
Baden, 25,000	
Silesia, 34,373	
Saxony, 5,146	
Rhine Provinces, 31,656	
Munich, 12,000	
Hamburg, 12,000	
Hanover, 12,000	
West Prussia, 24,447	
Pomerania, 10,434	
Brandenburg, 39,900	
Westphalia, 15,499	
Carried forward ..	824,822

EUROPE—*continued.*

Countries.	Jews.
Brought forward ..	824,822
Austria	1,300,000
Vienna, 60,000	
Prague, 18,000	
Galicia, 500,000	
Cracow, 27,000	
Brody, 20,000	
Lemberg, 30,000	
Hungary, 554,000	
Pesth, 50,000	
Presburg, 7,000	
Russia, including Poland	2,647,036
St. Petersburg, 22,000	
Warsaw, 90,000	
Odessa, 55,000	
Kischinev, 40,000	
Grodno, 18,000	
Wilna, 47,000	
In Caucasus, 23,000	
Berditchev, 30,000	
Lodz, 40,000	
Roumania	255,000
Jassy, 55,000	
Bucharest, 7,000	
Botushany, 25,000	
Turkey in Europe	200,000
Constantinople, 80,000	
Saloniki, 30,000	
Adrianople, 15,000	
Rustchuk, 2,200	
Total Europe ..	5,226,858

ASIA.

Countries.	Jews.
Turkey in Asia	130,000
Smyrna, 15,000	
Jerusalem, 13,000	
Damascus, 2,000	
Bagdad, 18,000	
Safed, 10,000	
Tiberias, 1,000	
Yemen	200,000
Persia and Arabia	160,000
Shiraz, 5,000	
Teheran, 600	
Ispahan, 1,000	
Turkestan	40,000
Samarkand, 10,000	
Bokhara, 13,000	
Russia in Asia	25,000
India	15,000
China	1,000
Other Parts	20,000
Total Asia ..	591,000

AFRICA.

Countries.	Jews.
Algeria	50,000
Tunis	60,000
Tripoli	20,000
Egypt	12,000
Cairo, 2,000	
Morocco	400,000
Morocco, 15,000	
Mequinez, 12,000	
Tangiers and Gibraltar, 5,000	
Tetuan, 20,000	
Mogador, 5,000	
Fez, 12,000	
Abyssinia (Falashas)	200,000
Other Parts	50,000
Total Africa ..	792,000
AMERICA	450,000
New York, 80,000	
Chicago, 30,000	
Jamaica, 5,000	
BRITISH COLONIES	15,000
New South Wales, 2,395	
Queensland, 3,305	
Victoria, 3,571	
New Zealand, 1,262	

TOTALS FROM ALL PARTS.

	Jews.
EUROPE	5,226,858
ASIA	591,000
AFRICA	792,000
AMERICA	450,000
BRITISH COLONIES	15,000
Grand Total ..	7,074,858

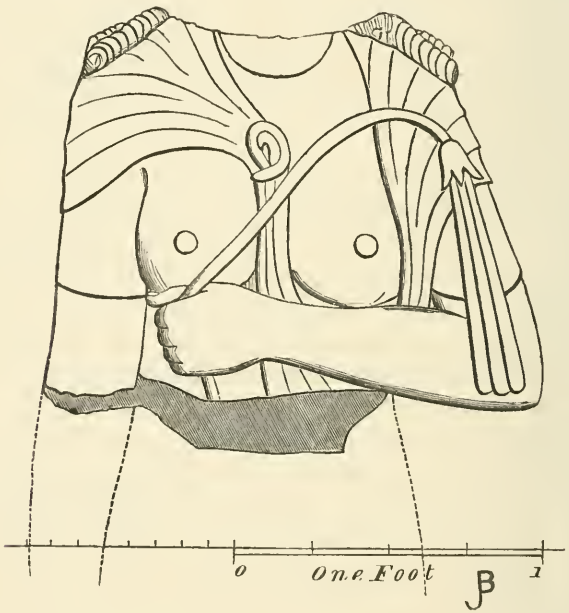
Basnage, 170 years ago, gave the total as only about three millions. In conclusion, be it observed, that both the outline of history and the statistics given, are but imperfect elements and hints, by their very manner of presentation, inviting supplement and completion by other and abler hands. To others also I must remit the question how the smallness of the present numbers of the Jews can be accounted for. It may result in part from suffering, by the attempt to acclimatise in all parts of the world, or from persecution and repression, or it may be that there are millions of the inhabitants of various countries who have in the course of ages become merged in the general population, and, while either wholly or partly of Jewish origin, are no longer reckoned in the census returns of the Jews. That there are some of this class we know, especially, for example, in America, but to determine their numbers is a most difficult problem. The soberest statistician may venture to predict a large increase in the opening future of this ancient and wonderful people.

NOTE ON AN EGYPTIAN BUST, FORMERLY IN THE HARRIS COLLECTION.

By Joseph Bonomi.

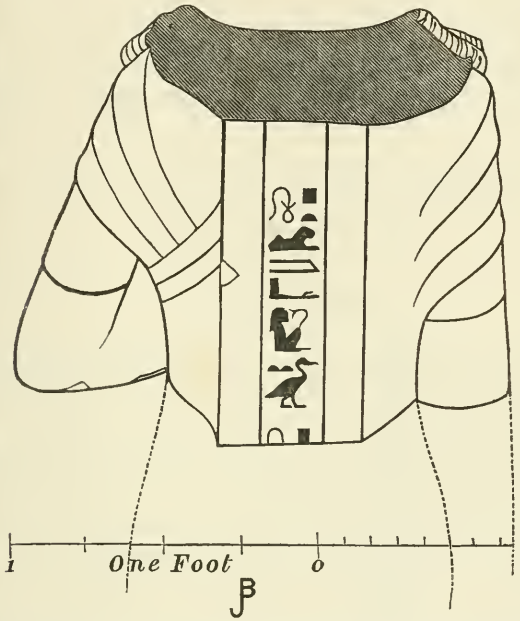
Read 2nd November, 1875.

This fragment is a part of an erect statue of a royal lady; it is much broken, the head and all below the waist being wanting. The right arm seems to have been straight down by her side, while the left is bent, and holds in the left hand the usual instrument terminating in three lobes, commonly



seen in the hand of Egyptian queens. On the shoulders are the remains of four spiral locks of hair, similar to those which occur as the head-dress of the Greek female statues of the second century B.C., and of the loose outer garment tied in front over the breast. Below this outer garment is a vest fitting close to the neck, and having tight sleeves reaching

to about the middle of the upper arm. On the square column at the back of the figure are the hieroglyphics "Ptolema lady daughter," then follow the remains of two hieroglyphics beginning the name of Ptolemy. It is to be



remarked, the *t* in the word daughter is repeated, and the name Ptolema is not enclosed in an oval, as royal names usually are. The fragment is of black granite, and of excellent work; it is 1 foot 4 inches in height, and must have belonged to the statue, 5 feet 1 or 2 inches in height, of a matronly person about twenty-five years of age.

By means of the scale of one English foot and inches, the inquirer can measure the extent, and carry in his mind the shape of the upper and lower fractures, so that if other fragments of this Egyptian statue should exist in any public or private collection in Europe, or elsewhere, it will be easily identified.

OBSERVATIONS ON AN INSCRIPTION IN AN UNKNOWN CHARACTER,

Found on a Fragment of Base in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus.

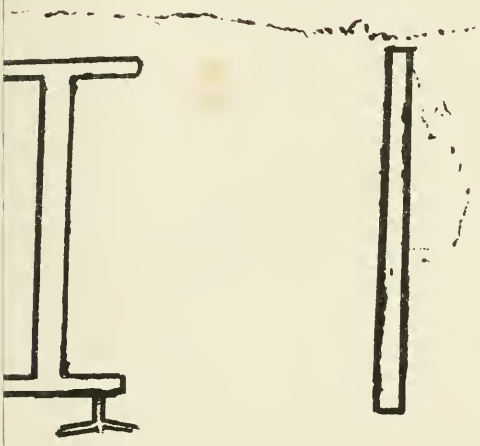
By C. T. Newton, C.B.

Read 4th January, 1876.

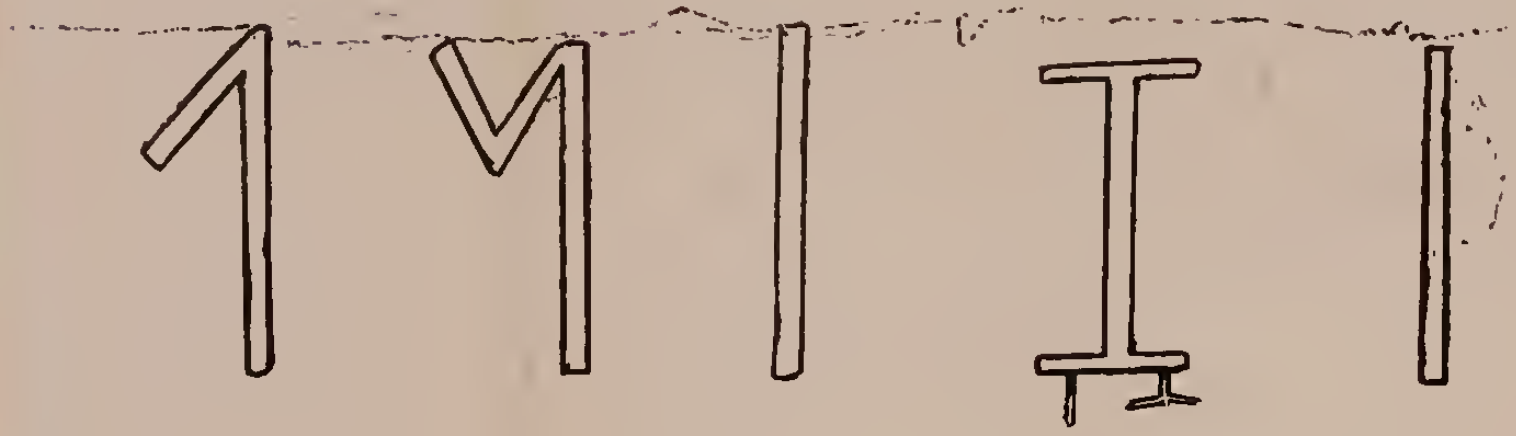
Mr. Newton exhibited a paper impression from an inscription on a base found by Mr. J. T. Wood in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. This inscription consists of five characters, very deeply and legibly cut on the curved face of a fragment of marble, which has evidently formed the base of some sculpture, as the outline of a foot may still be traced on its upper side. The section of this base is rectangular, and its depth $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is uncertain how far the inscription extended on the right, but on the left the marble is left perfectly plain after the last letter. Beginning from the left the two last characters might be either archaic Greek or Semitic, the third would be the Greek iota, but the fourth character cannot be at present recognized in any ancient alphabet, unless we suppose it to be a new variety of the . There are two finer strokes under the lower cross-line, which seem part of the original character. Whether we read this inscription from right or left, the characters do not suggest either a Greek or a Semitic word.

The curve of the base and its rectangular section correspond with those of other fragments of bases found in the Temple of Diana, to which are still attached portions of sculptured figures in relief in a very archaic style. On striking the curve of these bases it has been found that we obtain a circle six feet in diameter, a dimension very nearly corre-

OF DIANA EPHESUS.



INSCRIPTION ON FRAGMENT OF BASE FROM TEMPLE OF DIANA EPHESUS



sponding to that of the bases of the sculptured columns which Mr. Wood discovered, and which unquestionably belong to the temple built in the time of Alexander the Great, and which Pliny describes as *cælatæ columnæ*. After a careful examination of all the fragments of archaic sculpture already alluded to, Mr. Newton has come to the conclusion that they belong to the earlier temple, some of the columns of which were the gift of Crœsus, and that they are in all probability fragments of *cælatæ columnæ*, a peculiar architectural feature, which would thus seem not to have been the invention of the architects of the later temple, but to have been adopted by them in accordance with the tradition of the original design. The fragment of inscribed base of which an impression was exhibited, may belong to one of these *cælatæ columnæ* of the earlier temple, though its depth ($4\frac{1}{2}$ inches) is less by half an inch than that of the other fragments of base of the same character. We may, however, in any case, assume that it is the inscription on the base of some piece of sculpture, and that it is most probably part of a dedication. If this dedication was made in the earlier temple, the date of the inscription may be as early as B.C. 560, though the mode of cutting in the letters suggests a more recent date. We may now be quite sure that there were originally in Asia Minor several alphabets derived in the main from the same source as the Greek, but which, unlike the Greek, never spread beyond the district where they first came into use. The question which has now to be examined is, assuming the inscription before the Society to be Asiatic, to what alphabet do its characters belong?

ON A NEW HAMATHITE INSCRIPTION AT IBREEZ.

By Rev. E. J. Davis, M.A.

Read 7th December, 1875.

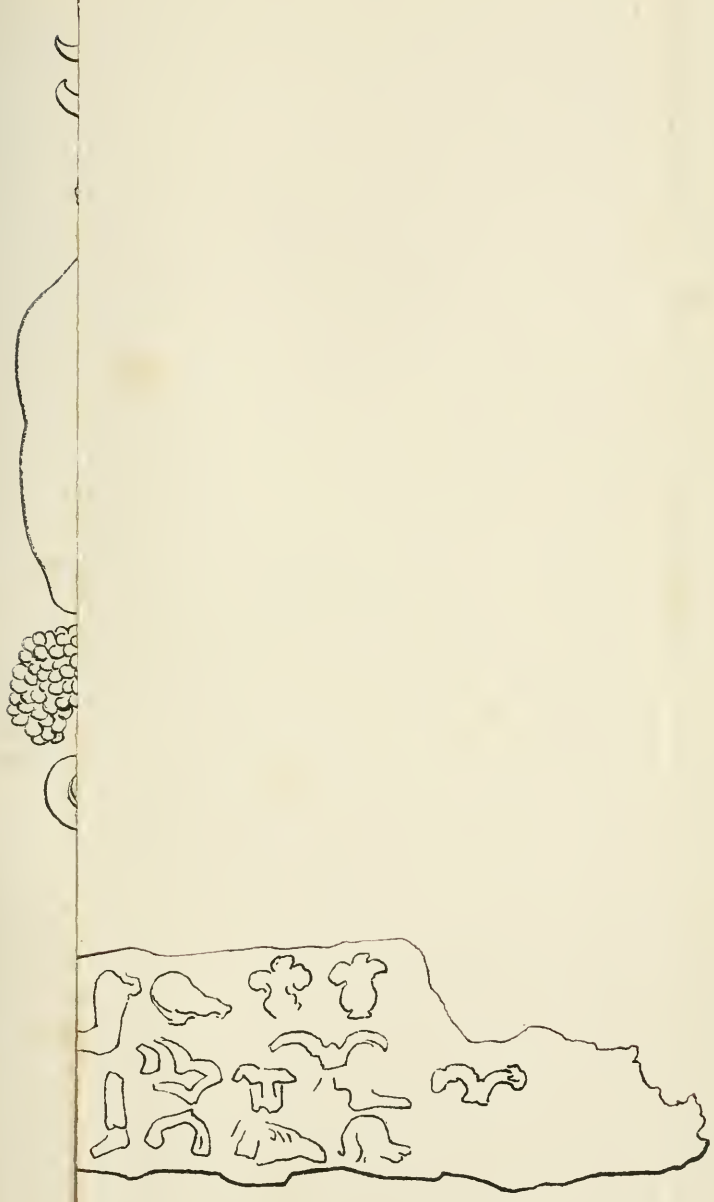
At the south-eastern extremity of the great Lycaonian Plain—near the point where the chain of Mount Taurus reaches its greatest height in the snow-clad peaks of Bulghar Dagh—are two little Turkish cities, Karaman and Eregli, the former on the site of ancient Laranda, the latter on the site of Cybistra.

The easiest approach to them from the plain of Cilicia is by the famous pass of the Cilician Gates (now called "Kulek Boghaz"), and it requires a journey of about five days on horseback to reach the great plateau from Tarsous or Adana. The whole distance lies through the grandest scenery, amid peaks and ranges of Alpine height, crowned with magnificent forests or perennial snows, and pierced by many river ravines, nearly, if not altogether, impracticable to human foot.

The pass of the Cilician Gates is the only passage through this portion of Mount Taurus that is open all the year round. For many days' journey towards the north-east there is absolutely no other opening; towards the west there are other passes, but they can only be traversed during two or three months in the year, owing to the deep snowfall.

A little beyond the village of "Oloukishla," the traveller enters upon the great Lycaonian Plain—a vast and perfectly level expanse—extending towards the west, till the horizon line faints away in the blue misty distance. At various points of the compass great volcanic mountain chains rise grand and abrupt from the level surface. The double cone

ION AT IBREEZ.



BAS RELIEF AND HAMATHITE INSCRIPTION AT IBREEZ.

of Hassan Dagh (over the site of ancient Nazianzus) lies due north, north-west by west is the jagged chain of Karàja Dagh. From its south-west extremity extends a long line of abrupt smaller hills and rocky heights, amongst them two extinct volcanic cones, of a form so strangely regular, that even Art itself could not shape them more evenly and smoothly. Far away to the west rises the great volcanic mass of Kàra Dagh.

The soil of the plain is mostly of chalk, very little of it fitted for agriculture, but supplying plentiful and excellent pasturage, which, before the terrible winter of 1873–74, supported innumerable flocks, the property of the various villages. Some idea may be formed of the great extent to which these poor people depended on their flocks, by the vast number of sheep and goats that perished from cold and hunger in the winter of 1873–74. Several of the villages I visited had lost from 15,000 to 20,000 animals; one had lost 30,000; another not less than 48,000 head, principally sheep. Nor was this calamity confined to one or two districts; it extended more or less through the whole interior of Asia Minor, and as a government register of the flocks is kept for the purposes of taxation, this is no exaggerated estimate, but plain matter of fact. Indeed, the whole interior of Karamania has suffered so much that many years must pass before it can recover its former prosperity.

The plain is treeless, and even without so much as a bush or thicket far as the eye can reach; but the extreme beauty and variety of the flowers are truly wonderful. I passed through the country in the early part of June, 1875, and there must have been then at least fifty different species in bloom. There were five or six species of flowers of different tints of red or of yellow, some of a red or yellow the most brilliant that can be imagined. There were flowers of crimson and orange and scarlet, and mauve and pink and lake; the ground was a veritable flower garden. Yellow trefoil and clover grew in the greatest profusion, and mingled with all these was a great variety of aromatic herbs. I noticed wild thyme, lavender, rosemary and mignonette, but there were several other kinds, two then in flower, which I had

never before seen. Now that I had seen this plain I, could understand how it was that the villagers could keep such great flocks of sheep and goats.

Of the two little Turkish towns, Karaman and Eregli, the former still shows many relics of former magnificence, but excepting here and there a stray fragment of column or a bit of architrave, I saw absolutely no remains of the old Greek city on the site of which it stood.

It was, however, the seat of a Turkish dynasty, which arose upon the dissolution of the Seljoukian empire. After the fall of the Sultans of Iconium, Laranda remained in the possession of Karaman Oglou. The dynasty he founded dates from 1294, but in 1386 Ala-ad-din, Sultan of Karaman, was defeated by the Osmanli sultan, Amurath, his city besieged, the prince forced to surrender, and in token of subjection obliged to kiss the hand of Amurath.

A little later Sultan Bayazid attacked the Prince of Karaman, without provocation, and took from him Iconium. After a short interval the prince revolted. At first he gained some brilliant successes, but was finally defeated in a great battle near Iconium, taken prisoner, and put to death, together with his two sons, by order of the victor.

Although now a poverty-stricken and decaying place, Karaman must have been, under the dynasty of Karaman Oglou, a rich and flourishing city, as is evident from its fine old citadel, and from the number and beauty of its mosques, many of which, though now in ruin, are remarkably interesting, one of them (the "Khatounieh") possessing a white marble gateway—a perfect gem of art—and another (the mosque of Karaman Oglou) a walnut wood folding door of very fine design and workmanship, and the minarets of many are of a style of architecture equalling that of the finest mosques in Cairo.

Next as to Eregli: I could not discover the slightest relic of the ancient city, and the modern town is nothing but a collection of hovels, built of unbaked mud-brick. Until within the last three centuries, it was comparatively a rich and flourishing place, but it lay on the direct route between Constantinople and Syria, and after the conquest of Syria

and Egypt by the Osmanli sultan, Selim II, the ill-disciplined troops of those times used to commit such atrocities as they passed through, that the population fled, and Eregli gradually decayed.

Owing to the geological formation of all this district, the rivers which here rise from the northern side of the Taurus have no outlet, but are lost in a series of lakes and vast marshes, extending for several days' journey from Eregli westwards and north-westwards. A large extent of most productive land is irrigated by the rivers, which supply respectively Karaman and Eregli, and the gardens and orchards of both places are magnificent, owing to the abundant water supply; but both places are unhealthy, dysentery and malarious fever being extremely prevalent and fatal, especially at Eregli.

But after this long introduction, it is time to mention the circumstances under which I discovered the bas-relief and inscription, a drawing of which I have the pleasure of laying before you. Whilst at Eregli I was strongly recommended to visit the source of the river by which Eregli and its district are watered. I was told that the stream burst out of the cliff "a full-born river." No one however mentioned anything about the antiquities of the place.

Accordingly, on June 8th, I engaged a guide, and we started for the spot. It is at a place called "Ibreez" (incorrectly given in Kieppert's map as "Iwris"), situated in a deep ravine, close under an outlying range of Bulghar Dagh, and about three hours to the south-east of Eregli.

The ride to Ibreez is very beautiful. The route lay through a richly cultivated district, magnificently wooded, and full of wheat, just now in full bloom. The weather resembled the finest June weather in England, though of course the sun was very much more powerful than with us.

On the left, in a grove of the greenest trees, is a large village named Tont, of a deep red colour, being built of red earth bricks; below it, and near the route, is Dourlàz. The fruit of these villages is excellent, especially the grapes. Wine is not made, but plenty of bad "ràki," which meets with a ready consumption, principally from the Armenian

Christians of Eregli and its neighbourhood. After passing Dourlaz, I entered a beautiful little lane, quite overgrown with fine trees, chiefly walnut, and traversed by a rapid babbling brook, clear as crystal, an offset of the river of Ibreez. Very remarkable was the number and tameness of the nightingales; they were singing in all directions, and several times I passed within a few feet of one of these little warblers, without his showing the slightest sign of fear. It was a scene quite in contrast with the arid and desolate solitude of the great plain. Bnt amongst many other things, these strong and sudden contrasts are some of the great charms of travel in Asia Minor.

After passing through the lane, I saw high up on the mountain side upon the right a great precipice of red rock, separated from a similar rock by a deep ravine. Ibreez is at its foot. In the valley in front is a large village called Xanapa. Its river, fed by rain and melted snow, comes from a ravine far up under Bulghar Dagh, but unfortunately this muddy torrent discolours the stream from Ibreez.

The Ibreez river is very deep and rapid, clear as crystal, and of a deep blue tint. After riding alongside of it for some time I turned towards the right over a low rocky hill towards Ibreez. Just then a violent thunderstorm burst over the mountains. I hurried through the green lanes and up the rocky ascent that led to the village, and took shelter in the house of the village chief, Ali Aga, a retired sub-officer of the Turkish army.

When the rain had ceased, I went out to see the village. Its position is very beautiful: just at the mountain foot, under the red rocks and deep ravine before mentioned. It is built of mud-brick, and contains about 700 inhabitants, all Muslim. I noticed at the mosque a few columns and a white marble Corinthian capital, but could not learn whether they had been found here or not. The great charms of Ibreez are its stream, the great mass of verdure around it, and the pure, cold bracing air of the place. The river issues in a most plentiful stream from the rock, under the more westerly of the two precipices which form the ravine; but the whole ground around is full of springs, and by the time it reaches

the little bridge, not a hundred yards from the source, it has become a deep raging torrent, foaming and leaping over the great rocks in its channel, of red, black, white and yellow marble, and white and yellowish limestone.

After admiring the stream a long time, the chief said there were some antiquities to be seen. Accordingly we crossed the bridge, and he led me through a fine grove of walnuts, some 200 yards down the side of the stream. Here a branch from the main river flows in a deep narrow channel along the foot of a high limestone rock of deep red colour, and on a portion of its face, that had been prepared for the purpose, are carved the bas-relief and inscriptions I have now the pleasure of submitting to your notice.

I at once determined to remain and make a careful drawing of them. The chief offered his house for our lodging. It was, however, too late to begin upon the drawing that evening, but one of the villagers offered to show me something in the mountain above the village; but I must go on horseback. Accordingly we proceeded up the mountain side, till the guide led me into a wild and savage glen, with precipitous sides of red rock, winding far up into the heart of the mountain.

Our road was the bed of a torrent, now dry, full of loose angular limestones. Before us, high up, was a great natural arch of rock. After about half-an-hour's ascent, we saw high up at the sides of the glen three small buildings; to the largest of them, on the east side, we with difficulty mounted. It proved to be a little Christian chapel, probably a hermitage, now completely ruined; but it must once have been very pretty, for the whole interior had been lined with cement, on which had been painted the figure of our Lord and saints.

The apse had been carved out of the overhanging rock. But few fragments of these frescoes still remain, and only one head to show what it once was. But the style of art is by no means bad; the expression of the face is very fine, and the colouring still vivid, though it had probably been exposed to the air six or seven hundred years at least, perhaps more. The overhanging rock shelters it from sun and rain. It must have been a very lonely residence. We did not visit the

other chapels, as we were told no fresco remained. As we descended to the spot where we had left the horses, for they could not mount, the intense silence of the glen, only broken by the distant song of the thrush, was very striking.

We found Ali Aga's house comfortable enough, but two very unwelcome guests had arrived later than ourselves, two tall and fine-looking men—very devout Muslims—(one of them was praying all day, and night too). They were Ushirjis (tax-gatherers) come to value the Dîme, and their arrival caused great consternation amongst the villagers, for they had orders to value even the honey, and the little crop of fruit and nuts in the gardens, and they themselves intended to farm the Dîme. The complaints of the villagers were loud and bitter. The poor people have literally nothing left, and are deeply in debt. They had not suffered so much as most of the villages round; but they had lost nearly all their sheep and goats, and most of their cows and horses. Many of their children had died for want of proper food, and seven or eight families had died from absolute hunger. The Government was exacting the arrears of taxation with much severity, and they said that the moneylenders were afraid to advance them any more money. Some of the villagers openly declared "any government would be preferable to the present."

After the evening meal there was a long discussion about the stream, and the Ushirjis told some very foolish legends about it. Amongst other things they declared that it was not in existence before Muslim times, but had been called forth by one of the Prophet's "Companions," and I inadvertently gave them much offence by saying that in all probability the bas-relief was only carved in that particular spot on account of the proximity of the stream, and if so, that certainly the bas relief was *at least* 2,500 years old, probably more, and long before the time either of Issa or Mohammed. The stream, therefore, could not have arisen in the manner they supposed, but probably existed from the beginning of this present world. Hereupon they were silent and spoke no more.

June 9th. I rose at daybreak and proceeded to draw the

bas-relief. The rock on which it is carved rises like a wall from the water of the stream to a height of about 40 feet. Its colour is of a deep dull red, or yellowish red, but stained and dyed in lighter and deeper patches by exposure to the sun and air through so many centuries. The portion on which the bas-relief is carved has been chiselled down and prepared for the work, the rest of the rock surface remains in its natural state. The bas-relief consists of two figures (one much larger than the other), cut in considerable but not very high relief, not exceeding I think more than four or five inches. I can, however, only give the various dimensions *by guess*, as I had no means of measuring the figures, which were quite out of reach from the side of the stream on which I stood, and indeed quite inaccessible without a long ladder. But by dint of careful comparison I think my conjectural measurements are not very far wrong. The larger figure is about twenty feet in height, the smaller about twelve feet, and the feet of the larger figure are from eight to nine feet above the level of the stream, which flows at the base of the rock. It seems to be a representation of some great personage offering prayers or thanksgiving to a deity, the god as it would seem of corn and wine. The design of both figures (though naturally somewhat rough in the outline, owing to the coarseness of the material, and natural decay) is very good, the anatomy is extremely well indicated, much after the manner of the Assyrian sculptures. The left hand of the larger figure is especially well executed, the delicate outline of the thumb articulations being very well rendered, not in the conventional style of the Egyptian sculptures, but as if copied directly from nature. The limbs of the larger figure are massy and bulky, in this point also the work resembles Assyrian rather than Egyptian work. The god is represented with a high conical hat or helmet, from which project four horns, two in front, two behind. The rim is formed by a flat band, and a similar band or ribbon runs round the hat above. A snake seems to be attached to the hat. I was for some time in doubt whether this was meant to represent a snake or only another ribbon, but the peculiar shape renders it more probable that this was meant for a

snake; and after long examination with the glass under various lights, I came to the conclusion that it must be so. The beard is very thick and close curled, and runs quite up to the temples. The hair is of a similar character, disposed in rows of thick curls, but without ornament. Neither of the figures appear to have ear-rings. The god is clad in a close fitting tunic reaching half-way down the thigh, and turned up both in front and behind in a species of "volute" ornament. The lower part of the arms from above the elbow is bare, but while the fold of the tunic sleeve is represented on the left arm, it is quite omitted on the right arm. On the wrists are massy but plain bracelets; round the waist is a broad girdle, ornamented with carved parallel lines *like* arrow heads, but obviously not *intended* to represent arrow heads. The legs from the middle of the thigh downwards are bare, the muscles of the calf and the knees being well rendered. He wears boots turned up in front, and bound round the leg above the ancle by thongs, and a piece of leather reaching half-way up the shin, exactly as it is worn to this day by the peasants of the plain of Cilicia round Adana. In his outstretched left hand he holds a large handful of ears of wheat —bearded wheat, the wheat of the country—the stalks reaching the ground behind his left foot, which is stepping forward, and between his feet is represented a vine stock. In his left hand he holds a cluster of grapes, two other larger clusters hang from the branch he is grasping, and behind him hangs a fourth cluster. The expression of the face is jovial and benevolent, the features well indicated, especially the highly aquiline nose. The lips are small and not projecting, and the moustache is short, allowing the mouth to be seen. The inscription is carved on the space between the face and the line of the arm, hand, and ears of wheat.

In front of him stands the other figure. The expression and character of feature in this is very different. The eye seems more prominent, the nose more curved and flattened upon the face, the lips more projecting, the hair and beard equally or even more crisped and thickly curled. On the head is a tall rounded cap, with flat bands round it, on

which seem to be sewn square plates (of gold perhaps?). In front of the cap is an ornament of precious stones, such as is still worn by oriental princes. The figure is clad in a loose long robe covered with squares, and heavily fringed at the bottom: compare Deuteronomy xxii, 12, and Numbers xv, 38, also the dress of Aaron as it is described in Leviticus ii, 7, 8, 9. A mantle, embroidered below, and secured at the breast by a clasp of precious stones, covers the robe; round the waist is a massy girdle, from which hangs a heavy tassel or fringe. On the right leg, just below the fringe of the under robe, appears to be the lower part of the trousers, and the feet are shod with shoes curved up in front. One hand, with the forefinger erect, is extended in front of the face, as if in the attitude of prayer or praise. After long and close examination, I could not decide whether this was the right or left hand. On the whole I concluded it was the left hand, especially as I thought I could detect the indication of the nail of the forefinger. On the other hand, the position of the arm rather resembles what would be the position of the *right*, the left arm being in that case wrapped up in and hidden by the mantle. A heavy collar or necklace surrounds the neck; it appears to be of rings or bands of gold, surrounding some other material. The end of the necklace hangs upon the shoulder. As in the Assyrian figures, perspective is only in part observed in the drawing of both these figures.

Behind the smaller figure there is also an inscription carved upon the smooth portion of the rock. Some of the characters are similar to those of the upper inscription; some appear to be heads of animals; one represents unmistakably the head of a man, the eye, beard, nose and conical cap being very distinct. In my drawing I have not sufficiently rendered the conical cap.

But this inscription is much obliterated, and I was not able to decypher the first letter of the upper line.

There is another inscription below the bas-relief, and just above the present level of the stream. This also seems to consist in great part of the heads of animals. A portion of the rock surface has been smoothed for it; but it is so very

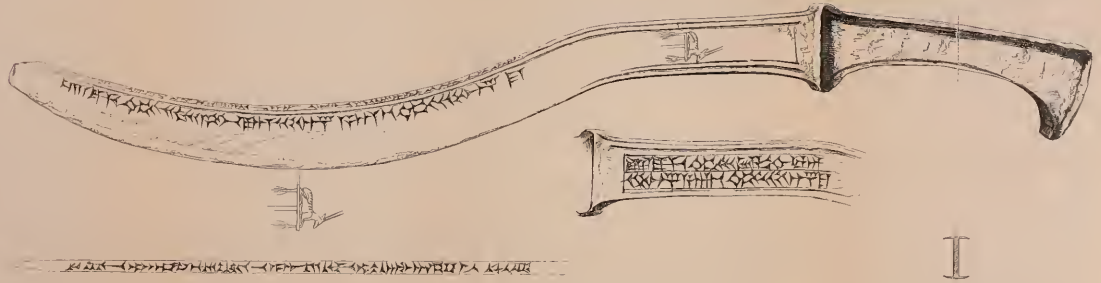
much obliterated that it is utterly impossible to make out a considerable part of it, the outlines even of that I have represented are very faint and indistinct. The villagers said that there were yet other inscriptions, but below the present water level, and only visible when the stream is at its lowest —at the end of summer.

Such is a brief description of this very interesting monument. The drawing I have the pleasure to submit to your notice is an accurate reproduction on a larger scale of the careful drawing I made on the spot.

The villagers could give me no information as to the existence of the ruins of any ancient town in the neighbourhood; but it is obvious that the bas-relief mounts to a period antecedent to the settlement of the Greeks in this part of Asia Minor. But Ibreez with its magnificent stream (whose pure ice-cold waters would be so grateful during the burning heat of summer), with its forests, and the wide extent of fertile land below it, might well have been the favourite summer residence of some satrap or prince of the ancient times, who desired to display, by this monument, his devotion and gratitude.

The modern name of the village is derived from the Persian آب ریز "Āb-reez," "water-pouring." The same words are also used as a composite noun substantive, and mean "a vessel for pouring water," "a waterspout."

Bronze Sword, bearing the name of Vulnirari I, found near Diarbekr.



NOTES ON AN ANCIENT ASSYRIAN BRONZE SWORD BEARING A CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION.

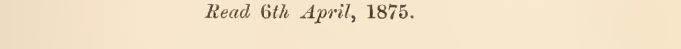
Contributed by W. St. Chad Boscawen.

Read 6th April, 1875.

This sword, which was lent for exhibition by Colonel Hanbury, was obtained at Nardin from the Arabs, but where it originally came from was not ascertained.

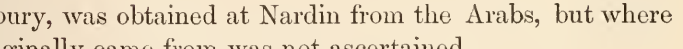
The sword bears the following inscription inscribed on it in three places. 1. On the whole length of the flat blade on the inside edge. 2. Along the back portion. 3. And on the outside edge, being here divided into two lines.

The inscription is:—



E -kal[1] Vul-nirari sar kissati abli Bu - di - il

The Palace of Vul-nirari king of Nations, son of Budil



sar Assuri abli Bel - nirari sar Assuri - va

king of Assyria, son of Bel-nirari king of Assyria (*also*).

The inscription supplies us with the names and relationships of three Assyrian monarchs, who reigned from B.C. 1375 to B.C. 1300. These monarchs ruled in the capital city of Assur (Keleh Shergat), and it was probably from this place that this sword was obtained. Of the reigns of these monarchs we know but little.

[1] In a bilingual tablet, W.A.I. IV, 5, 31, we find the Accad. , explained by Assyrian e-kal.

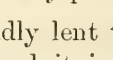
Bel-nirari was the son of Assur-ubalid. His only expedition of which we have any account was one against Nazi-bu-gas, the king of Kar-duni-yas.

Budil his son succeeded him in B.C. 1350, and appears to have been more warlike than his father; he marched against and defeated people to the north-east of Assyria, the Nari, the Guti or Goim; he also built a palace in the capital city of Assur.

Budil was succeeded by his son Vul-nirari the First, the monarch from whose palace the sword came. He was one of the greatest of the early Assyrian monarchs. He extended the empire of Assyria both on the north and east, and added to the royal buildings at Assur. There is in the British Museum a long inscription of this monarch's, recording the restoration in his reign of the causeway of the temple of Assur.

The dimensions of this sword are as follows:—

Length of blade	.. ..	16 inches.
Do. of hilt	.. ..	$5\frac{3}{8}$,,
Total length	.. .. ..	$21\frac{3}{8}$,,
Width of blade at hilt	..	$1\frac{1}{8}$,,
Width at base of hilt	..	$1\frac{7}{8}$,,

The sword has had a richly jewelled hilt, which has been inlaid with ivory. It is of the kind known as  *Sa-pa-ra* in the Assyrian inscriptions, and similar to those with which the god Marduk is armed in his fight with the dragon on the Assyrian Cylinders.[1]

It was probably placed in the hands of a statue, perhaps one of the god Marduk, but there is no indication on the sword of its having been dedicated to any particular god.

NOTE.—Colonel Hanbury has kindly lent this sword for exhibition to the British Museum, and it is now on view there.

[1] See Smith, Chaldean Genesis, pp. 62, 95.

THE REVOLT IN HEAVEN.

From a Chaldean Tablet.

By H. F. Talbot, F.R.S.

Read 1st February, 1876.

In the following paper I propose to examine the first of the two tablets lithographed in pp. 42-45 of Delitzsch's recent work. Three principal narratives are contained on those tablets—the Revolt in Heaven—the Creation of Man—and the fight between Bel and the Dragon. The connexion of the latter with the two former is not quite certain (being given on a different tablet), but it seems likely that the Dragon was the instigator of the revolt, and likewise the Tempter who seduced mankind, although I cannot find that this is distinctly stated. Therefore Bel in his vengeance destroyed the Dragon.

Plate 42 describes the revolt of the gods, or angels. It seems to have been preceded by an account of the perfect Harmony which existed in Heaven previously. And here I would call to mind a noble passage in Job, ch. xxxviii, which deserves particular attention, since it is not derived from the Mosaic narrative, but from some independent source, namely, that when God laid the foundations of the World, "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." By "the sons of God" in this passage are to be understood the Angels. In the beginning, therefore, according to this sacred author, all was joy and harmony and loyalty to God. But this state of union and happiness was not to last. At some unknown time, but before the creation of man, some of the angels ceased to worship their Creator: thoughts of pride and ingratitude arose in their hearts, they revolted

from God, and were by his just decree expelled from heaven. These were the angels of whom it is said in the Book of Jude that "they kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation." The opinions of the Fathers and of other religious writers on this mysterious subject it were useless to examine, since they admit that nothing can be certainly known about it. The opinion that one third of the heavenly host revolted from their Creator is founded on Rev. xii, 3, where it is said: "*And there appeared a dragon in heaven, having seven heads . . . . . and his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven and did cast them to the earth. And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels. And prevailed not: neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out—he was cast out into the earth and his angels were cast out with him.*"

The Revelation of St. John was written in the first century, but some of the imagery employed may have been far more ancient, and for that reason more impressive to the religious mind of the age.

The war between Michael and the Dragon bears much resemblance to the combat of Bel and the Dragon recounted on the Chaldean tablet.[1] And it is not unworthy of remark that the Chaldean dragon had seven heads, like that spoken of in Revelations.[2]

At the Creation harmony had prevailed in heaven. All the sons of God, says Job, shouted for joy. What caused the termination of this blissful state? We are not informed, and it would be in vain to conjecture. But the Babylonians have preserved to us a remarkable tradition, which is found in the tablet of p. 42, and has not, I believe, been hitherto understood. It is unlike anything in the Bible or in the sacred histories of other countries. While the host of heaven were assembled and were all engaged in singing hymns of praise to the Creator, suddenly some evil spirit gave the signal of revolt. The hymns ceased in one part of the assembly, which burst forth into loud curses and imprecations on their

[1] See G. Smith, p. 100 of his Chaldean Genesis.

[2] See 2 R 19, col. ii, 14, and my Assyrian Glossary, No. 108.

Creator. In his wrath he sounded a loud blast of the trumpet, and drove them from his presence never to return. Then follows a passage of the highest importance:—

15. IN THEIR ROOM he created Mankind.

16. The first who received life dwelt along with him.

17. May he give them strength, that they may never neglect his word!

18. Following the voice of the Serpent whom his hands had made.

There is a difficulty in the word I have translated "serpent": I will give my reasons for it elsewhere. I may be wrong in this point, but I am much swayed by the expression "whom his hands had made." It seems to say that the Tempter was also a creature that the Almighty had made. Perhaps some member of this learned Society will be able to inform us whether a similar tradition is to be found elsewhere, namely, that Mankind were created to fill the void in creation which the ungrateful rebellion of the angels had caused.

After a few more lines comparatively unimportant the remainder of the tablet is unfortunately broken off.

I think it will be found that I have given a correct view of the meaning of this important tablet. In the notes which I propose to add, I shall carefully examine each word of difficulty. Almost all the words are found in Hebrew or Chaldee with the sense I have here attributed to them, and as the sentences flow easily and unite in giving the same history, I have little doubt that what I have given is nearly what the scribe intended to relate.

The following are the words of the inscription as nearly as I can render it.

THE REVOLT IN HEAVEN.

(The first four lines, and probably several more, are broken. They related, no doubt, that a Festival of Praise and Thanksgiving was being held in Heaven, when this rebellion took place).

5. The Divine Being spoke three times the commencement of a Psalm.

6. The god of holy songs, lord of religion and worship
7. Seated a thousand singers and musicians: and established a choral band
8. who to his hymn were to respond in multitudes . . . . .

---

9. With a loud cry of contempt they broke up his holy song
10. Spoiling, confusing, confounding, his hymn of praise.
11. The god of the bright crown (1) with a wish to summon his adherents
12. sounded a trumpet blast which would wake the dead.
13. which to those rebel angels prohibited return,
14. He stopped their service, and sent them to the gods who were His enemies. (2)
15. In their room he created Mankind.
16. The first who received life, dwelt along with him.
17. May he give them strength, never to neglect his word,
18. following the Serpent's voice, whom his hands had made.
19. And may the god of divine speech (3) expel from his five thousand (4) that wicked Thousand
20. who in the midst of his heavenly Song, had shouted evil blasphemies!
21. The god Ashur, who had seen the malice of those gods who deserted their allegiance
22. to raise a rebellion, refused to go forth with them.

The remainder of the tablet (9 or 10 lines more) is too much broken for translation.

I will now give the original cuneiform text, with some observations.

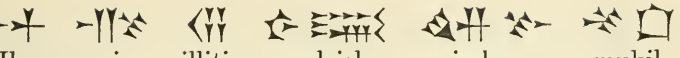
Lines 1 to 4 broken.

[1] The Assyrian scribe annotates in the margin that the same God is meant throughout, under all these different epithets.

[2] They were in future to serve the powers of Evil?

[3] See note 1. This is another epithet.

[4] The total number of the gods is, I believe, elsewhere given as five thousand.

5. 

Ilu zi illiti salsish imbu mukil

The god of life divine three times spoke the commencement

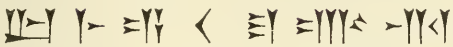
tililti

of a psalm.

6.

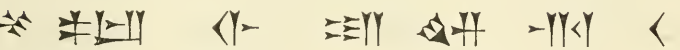
Ilu sari dabi bil

The god of songs good, lord



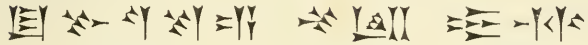
tasmi u magari

of religion and worship

7. 

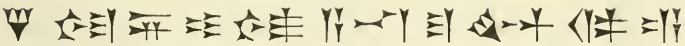
musab ilpa zimri u

seated a thousand singers and



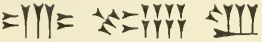
kubutti mukin kanik

musicians, (and) established a choral band

8. 

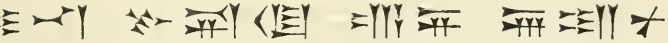
sha ninnit-zu ana mahadi

who his songs in multitudes



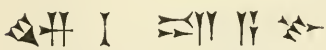
utarru

responded to,

9. 

ina buski danni irzinu

with derision great they broke up

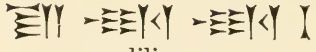


im - su dabu

his hymn good

10.

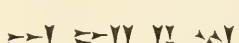
likbú lattahidu lattibla
spoiling *confusing* *confounding*



salili-su
his song of praise.

11.

Ilu mir illi in sai lisarrikhu
the god of the crown bright, with a wish to summon

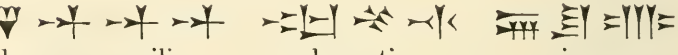


abrati
his adherents

12.

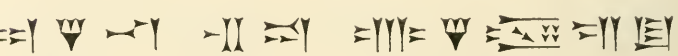
bil sibtu illitu mubullat
sounded *a strain* *loud* *giving life to*

miti
death

13. 

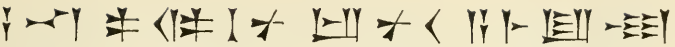
sha an ili kamuti irsu
which to the gods *rebellious* *prohibited*

tairu
return.

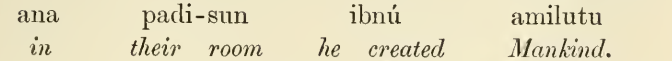
14. 

absan indu usassiku
their service *he stopped.* *He removed them*

eli ili nakiri-su
unto the gods *his enemies*

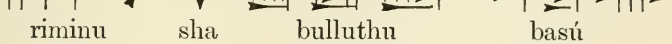
15. 

ana padi-sun ibnú amilutu
in their room he created Mankind.

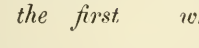
16. 

riminu sha bulluthu basú
the first who received life dwelt

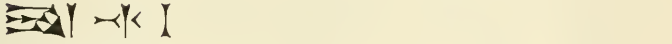
itti-su
with him.

17. 

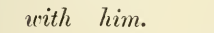
likuna-ma ai immasá
may he give them firmness never to neglect



amatu-su
his word!

18. 

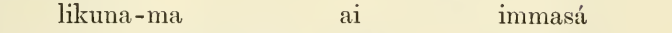
as pi zalmat-kakkadu sha ibná
according to the voice of the serpent which had created



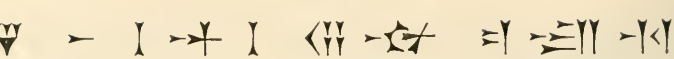
qatá-su.
his hands.

19.

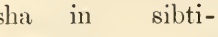
Ilu ..... illiti as khamis ilpata su
The god of ..... divine from his five thousand



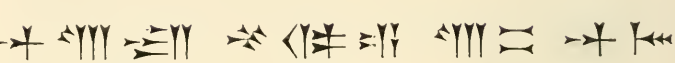
ilpa sina lattabbul
(that) thousand wicked may he expel

20. 

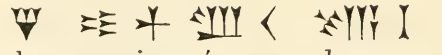
sha in sibti-su illiti izzukhu
who in his song divine had shouted



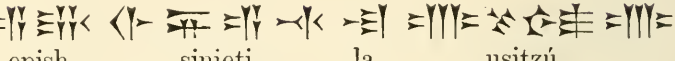
nagab sinuti
blasphemies bad.

21. 

Ilu libzu mudi libbi ili
The god Assur knowing the mind of the gods



sha imasrú kar-su
who had abandoned their station

22. 

epish sinieti la usitzú
to make a rebellion, not went forth

itti-su
with them.

Observations.

Line 5. *Imbu*, he spoke or pronounced. Put for *inbu*, *euphoniæ causâ*. From נבע to speak with eloquence. The word *imbu* occurs frequently.

Mukil, 'the beginning.' Heb. מחל exordium: from Chald. אחל incepit: exorsus est: same as Heb. החל Hiphil of חלל to begin. This verb חל is used for the beginning of a *book* or *writing* (here of a song or psalm): *ex. gr.* Hosea i, 2, "The beginning (תחלה) of the word of the Lord by Hosea."

Tililti, a Psalm. The same as the Heb. תהלה a Psalm; from הלל *hillel*, to praise. I have already pointed out this word in the catalogue of an Assyrian library (Transactions vol. iii, p. 434), which contained among other religious works "the book of Psalms (*tililti*)." So in Hebrew ספר תהלים "the book of Psalms." It is observable that *tililti* is written here with the same three cuneiform signs as in vol. iii of the Transactions, so that there can be no doubt of the identity of the word.

Line 6. *Tasmi*, from שמע to hearken or obey. Religious obedience.

Musab, from ישב to seat, or be seated.

Ilpa, a thousand. Hebrew אלף mille. See line 19.

Zimri, singers. Ch. and Syr. זמר plur. זמרין cantores, musici, tibicines.

Kubutti, tibicines: flute players. Chald. נקב a flute; so called because it is hollow. Ezekiel xxviii, 13, uses this word for a flute or pipe. קב and נקב are used indifferently.

Kanik, a Choral band: a Choir, is the Chald. *Khanga* חנגא Chorus: chorea: tripudium. It also occurs in the forms חנוגא and חנגית according to Schindler, who says, this word is formed from חגא a Chorus [*dagesh* in *N* resoluto.] This is closely related to חג a festival, joyful day, solemnity, &c. The word *kanik* probably occurs in many other places *in this sense*, but has been hitherto overlooked, as when Khammurabi says that he ruled his people in peace and joy (*kanik*).

Line 8. *Ninnit*, a Song (choral or responsive) from ענה 'to sing' (ita ut ubi unus desiit inde alter oriatur, sicut in choris et choreis solent). *Schindler.*

Line 9. *Buski* is the Syriac בזה Sprevit, contempsit, illusit: whence בזחא scurrilitas, ludibrium: nearly the same as the verb בזה, said in other passages (as here) of despisers of the word of the Lord (*Schindler*).

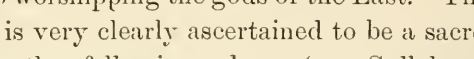
Irzinu, "they broke up." The first letter is *ir* (see Delitzsch's note). From רצץ or רצה confregit: concussit.

Im, for *In*, a holy song: a hymn. The change of M for N is frequent, according to a law of euphony which made one letter more pleasant to the ear than the other. It is remarkable that the English language has a similar change.

saying *hymn* for the Italian *inno*. The Greeks borrowed the word ὕμνος probably from the Assyrian temple worship when they took to worshipping the gods of the East. The meaning of [cuneiform] *In*, is very clearly ascertained to be a sacred song or hymn from the following gloss, (see Syllabary, p. 20, of Delitzsch's work, No. 43)

[cuneiform] . [cuneiform] . [cuneiform]

In *Su-an* *Sibtu*



All three words occur on the tablet I have here translated.

Line 10. Here we have three verbs commencing with the letter L which usually marks the optative. How to view them is a question of Assyrian grammar. The pure optative does not give a suitable sense. It may be used for the infinitive (as *Latin ut veniret* for *venire*). Perhaps the best rendering into English is by a participle.

Line 10. *Likbu* is probably from קבע to spoil, (corrupit. *Sch.*). We may render it 'spoiling,' or perhaps 'so as to spoil.'

Lattahidu, from חוד to use dark or puzzling words: to speak unintelligibly.

Lattibla, from בלל confundere: whence Chald. תבל confusio extrema (*Sch.*)

Salili, praise or thanksgiving. סלל for סלסל in Chaldee 'extulit laudibus.'

Line 11. *As sai*, with a wish—probably from שהי desideravit, *Schindler*, p. 1812.

Lisarrikhu 'to summon' especially with a trumpet: from צרח to sound a loud strain, or to clamour loudly.

Abrati, friends: companions: from חבר amicus, whence חברת societas, communitas. Apparently he summoned the whole community of the gods who remained faithful.

Line 12. Here it would be natural to take *Bil* in the sense of *Dominus*. But then we ought to have *Bil sibti* and not *sibtu*. Moreover a verb is wanted. Can *bil* be the verb יבל 'he blew a trumpet,' whence יובל sonus, jubilum? If so, one would have expected *ibil sibtu*, but the vowel *i* may have been lost from coalescing with the final *i* in *abrati*. This kind of absorption is very frequent, but only occurs when the

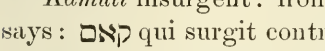
diction is rapid and impassioned. The trumpet's sound (1 Cor. xv, 52) in Scripture, raises the dead. *Mubullat miti*, 'which would cause the dead to live.' Compare *Ishtar mubulladat miti*, 'the goddess who causes the dead to live again,' in vol. ii of the Transactions, p. 30.

Line 13. Here the scribe seems to have written for *ana* (*ana ili* 'to the gods.')

Kamuti insurgent: from Chald. קאם insurgere (Schindler says: קאם qui surgit contrà aliquem: hostis.)

Irsú is, I have little doubt, a *metathesis* of *isru* 'he prohibited,' since that is the proper word in Hebrew for *vetare*, 'to forbid.' Schindler says, אסר prohibuit ne quid fieret. *Isru tairu*, it prohibited their return.

Tairu, return. From an Assyrian verb *Tur* to return, which also occurs with some slight modifications in Greek and Latin. *Tairu* occurs frequently, for example in the legend of the descent of Ishtar,

 *alakta la tairat*, a path which has no return.

Line 14. *Absan*, service, from עבש to serve, an Assyrian form of עבד.

Indu, 'he stopped.' Put for *imdu* euphoniæ causâ. *Imdu* from עמד to stay: to stop. *Absan indu*, he stopped their service.

Usassiku, S conjugation of נסח to remove forcibly; to pull up. Schindler has 'de loco in locum transtulit.'

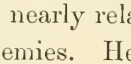
Line 15. *Ana padi-sun*, 'in their room.' In Chaldee and Syriac פתא means 'broad' or 'roomy' (latus vel amplus fuit). Now, the word *place* (Germ. *platz*) is the Latin *platea*, from πλατυς broad. Also, as a substantive, the Chald. פתא means *platea* 'place.' Hence *ana padi-sun* is 'in their place.'

Line 16. *Riminu*, 'the first': from רום primus fuit (whence תרום 'primitiæ'). In the E.I.H inscription we find Riminu Marduk, Marduk first, or highest, of beings.

Line 17. It is not evident who is supposed to have offered this prayer at the time of the Creation of Man.

Likuna from כון to be firm or stable.

Immasá, Chald. מאם sprevit, contempsit, abjecit, rejecit. Especially used of rejecting the word of the Lord (as in the present passage).

Line 18. *Zalmat kakkadu* (crowned head), usually signifies 'a king.' Clear examples of this will be found in the Appendix to this paper. In some texts it replaces *malku sha kiprati* 'king of the nations.' In the present passage I think the phrase means 'a serpent,' not generically, but that particular serpent which was fabled to wear a Crown upon its head, and was for that reason called the *Basilisk*, from *Βασιλισκος* 'a little king.' In some mediæval pictures I think that the Tempter Serpent wears a Crown. For further proof see the reverse of this tablet in Delitzsch, plate xliii, line 25, where an elaborate curse is pronounced against whoever shall listen to the King () or his posterity (*nakidi*). Here the King must mean the Serpent.

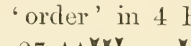
Line 19. The total number of the gods is, I believe, elsewhere given as five thousand.

Ilpa, a thousand, Heb. אלף, see line 7, where apparently the *same* thousand are spoken of, before their rebellion.

Line 20. *Izzukhu* 'they shouted.' Heb. צוח to shout. The verb צעק seems very nearly related.

Nagab curses or blasphemies. Heb. נקב.

Line 21. *Imasru* 'they had quitted,' from מסר to abandon.

Kar is used for 'order' in 4 R. And see Syllabary No. 313 in Delitzsch p. 27  Kar. Ediru. This word *edir* is the Heb. עדר 'ordo,' but frequently *grex*, as grex Domini, 'the people of the Lord' or 'the Lord's flock' is carried away captive (Jeremiah xiii, 17). Hence in the present passage, the angels *sha imasru kar-su* 'who had abandoned their flock, or their company.'

Line 22. *Epish siniti* 'to raise rebellion' is a well known phrase *ex. gr.* 'When Assurdanina against Salmanussur his father raised a rebellion' (*ebus siniti*). 1 R 32, 40.

The scene of this Legend is laid in Heaven, but it is evident that the scribe had in his mind the Temple Worship of his own time and country; with its singers, musicians, and responsive Chorus. Nor was the temple worship of the Israelites very dissimilar in these respects.

Appendix.

I will add a few remarks on the word , which I have translated 'king,' as some have rendered it 'the dark race of men,' which I shall endeavour to disprove It is of great importance to arrive at its true meaning because it is here an epithet of the Tempter.

In the Bavian inscription 3 R 14, 4, Sennacherib says, "Malki sha kiprati sebu-ya usaknis, *the kings of the nations I caused to bow down to my feet*"; and he repeats this in the Bull inscription 3 R 12, 3, only changing the order of the words, 'gimri malki sha kiprati usaknis sebu-ya.' Also in Layard's inscriptions 38, 4 he says the same thing, but he varies one important word, saying *zalmat kakkadu* instead of *malki sha kiprati*. The passage is as follows, (Ashur father of the gods) gimir zalmat kakkadu usaknis sebu-ya (has caused all Kings to bow down to my feet): ana rihut mati u nisi ullá risi-ya (to the sovereignty over land and people he has raised high my head): iddina ispa isartu murappisat mati (he has given me the sceptre of justice to rule my people): kakku la khaddu ana takkut zairi usatmikh gatú-ya (and a sword which cannot be broken, for the smiting of my enemies, he has placed in my hand). I have given the passage at length, to show that the subject of it is Sennacherib's preeminence among kings, and nothing else.

Now let me add the beginning of the Bavian inscription where Sennacherib names all the principal gods and then says: "(*These are the gods*), sha as gimir atnati ana itarri *zalmat kakkadu* enu inassu inambu malku (*who, when they had raised me above all other 'zalmat kakkadu' that is, crowned heads, or kings, of all the world, named me their sovereign.*") There is

here no question at all of 'dark races' or 'negro races' as some have supposed.

In the above, *adnati* is for *admati* 'the world.' אדמה orbis terrarum, Genesis iv, 11. &c. See Gesenius.

Itarri 'the rest' is Heb. יתר 'the rest' as for example יתר העמ 'the rest of the people': יתר דברי 'the rest of the acts' (of Solomon, are they not written in the book, &c. 1 Kings xi, 41).

ON SOME FRAGMENTS OF THE CHALDEAN ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION.

By George Smith.

Read 2nd November, 1875.

The Fragmentary Inscriptions here brought before the Society are the principal portions now remaining of the Chaldean account of the Creation.

The circumstances of their discovery I have narrated in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, March 4th, 1875, and I have since continued to find fragments of these and similar legends down to the end of September, when my search ceased, as I began to prepare for my next journey to the East.

I have prepared for publication in a popular form an account of these Inscriptions and translations of the fragments, but as I am about to return to Assyria to endeavour to obtain more fragments of the texts, and as in my absence there might be some delay in the publication of the Inscriptions, I have given copies of the principal fragments to the Society, that they may be available for the study of Assyrian scholars.

I intend at a future time to bring under the notice of the Society the whole of the Genesis Legends, and I only desire to first make them as complete as possible before doing so. In the meantime, my brother Assyriologists will receive the present instalment, which will show the style and matter of one of the principal works.

The present copies of the Chaldean account of the Creation were written during the reign of Assurbanipal, B.C. 673–626, but they appear to be copies of a much older Chaldean work, the date of the composition of which was

probably near B.C. 2,000. The legends existed, however, earlier than this, and were in the form of oral traditions, handed down from time to time, until during the great literary age in Babylonia they were committed to writing. I have given these fragments on six sheets as follows:—

1st. Upper part of first tablet of Creation series.

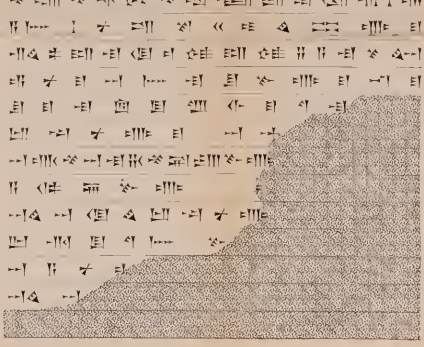
2nd. Upper part of fifth tablet of Creation series.

3rd and 4th. Obverse and reverse of tablet describing the Fall.

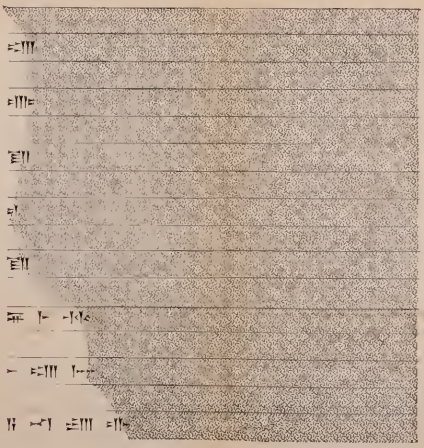
5th and 6th. Obverse and reverse of tablet, with war between the Gods and Chaos.

First Tablet of Creation Series.

Obverse.

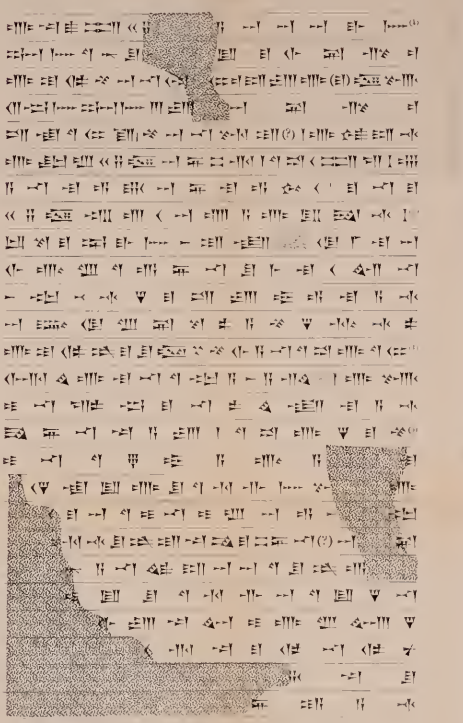


Reverse.

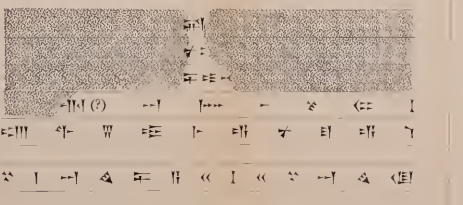


Fifth Tablet of Creation Series.

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



Variants: (1) [illegible] (2) [illegible] (3) [illegible] (4) [illegible]

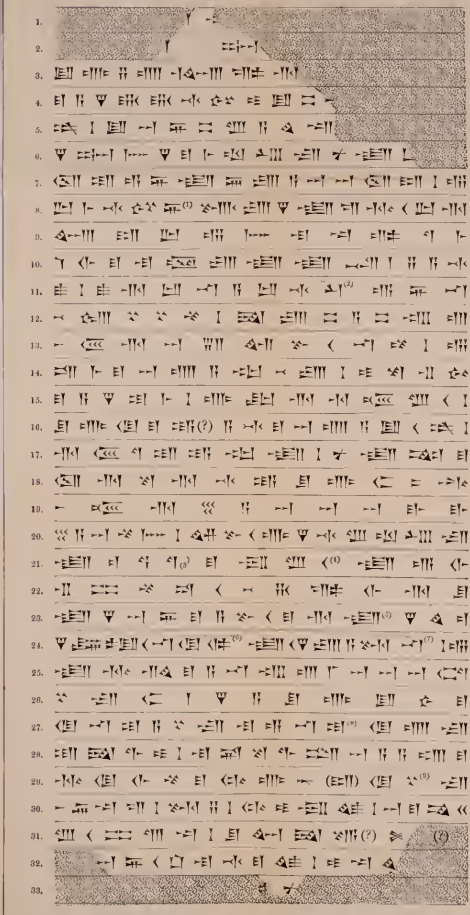
Tablet describing the Fall.

OBVERSE.

(1) In one copy.

Tablet describing the Fall.

REVERSE.



Variants: (1) [illegible] (2) [illegible] (3) [illegible] (4) [illegible] (5) [illegible] (6) [illegible] (7) [illegible] (8) [illegible] (9) [illegible]

NOTE.—Line 14 to Line 19 omitted in one copy.

HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS

IVar between the Gods and Chaos.

Obverse.

War between the Gods and Chaos.

Reverse.

Variants:

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

CONDENSED REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS DURING THE FOURTH SESSION, November, 1874, to July, 1875.

Tuesday, November 3, 1874.

S. Birch, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following candidates were duly nominated in December for election :— Rev. Dr. Muehleisen Arnold ; William Baker, B.A ; Rev. Mourant Brock, M.A. ; Miss Amelia B. Edwards ; Miss Foster ; Henry William Fry, Walthamstow ; Theodore Fry, Darlington ; Edward Falkener, F.S.A. ; T. Claxton Fidler ; Thomas R. Gill ; Ernest Hartland, Cheltenham ; E. Sidney Hartland, Swansea ; Mrs. Robert Hollond ; Wentworth Huyshe ; Marcus Keane, M.R.I.A., Ennis, Clare ; Llwyelyn A. Mills ; Dr. Aldabert Merx, Giessen ; Rev. J. Marshall, M.A. ; William Palmer, M.A. ; Mrs. S. G. Rice ; Rev. Canon Tristram, D.D., F.R.S. ; Rev. Arthur Rendell ; Rev. Watkin H. Williams, St. Asaph.

Messrs. S. Bagster & Sons presented a valuable collection of Biblical Works, published by their Firm, to the Library of the Society.

The following papers were then read :—

1. *On the Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Elam and Media.* By the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.—The dialect to which the agglutinative idiom of the Persian inscriptions belonged was spoken by one of the four tribes of Susiania or Elam, probably by the Amardi. It was closely akin to two other dialects of Susiania, which have also been revealed by cuneiform discovery,—those of the Cassi or Kossæans and of Anzan or Susa,—as well as to the modern Vogul-Mordvinian group ; and was more remotely connected with the Accadian of ancient Babylonia. Two dialects of the latter may be detected, both of which are marked by such an extreme simplicity of agglutination as to render the Accadian the Sanskrit of the Turanian tongues. The Amardi were the primitive population of Media, the Aryan invaders not having appeared before the 9th century B.C. Additions were made in the paper to our knowledge of the Amardian dialect, an older form of which exists in the inscriptions engraved at Mál-Amir by king Sutur-Cit, and translations were given for the first time of brick-legends from Susa. All three Susianian dialects, together with that of the Cassi, were compared with the Accadians, and the origin and explanation of many grammatical forms, obscure not only in the modern Finnic idioms but also in those of ancient Elam, were thus pointed out.

2. *On Four New Syllabaries and a Bilingual Tablet.* Translated and Edited by H. F. Talbot, F.R.S.—These precious documents were brought from Nineveh by Mr. G. Smith this summer. They are marked S 23, 15, 14, 17, 12. The first tablet mentions a City, IS, *ittu* or *iddu*, probably bitumen (Herodot. Roman city IS : now called Hit, where bitumen still abounds). *Kish* (Heb. *Kattish*) (? our cotton) passus (byssus) = sis (Heb. *shish*) fine linen. The Accadians knew of white, black, yellow, and green cloth, perhaps also Tyrian purple cloth. On one of these tablets one word stands by itself, and in Mr. Smith's opinion this was to catch the student's eye and to refer him to the next tablet. Another tablet gives a list of the various classes of palace-guards of the court : gate-

keepers, guards of defiles, night watchers, fortress guards, prison warders, guardhouse warders of palace gate, of great city gate, of treasury, of royal granary, house guards, temple guards, field guards, orchard guards. Also the titles of honour, lord and lady of the palace; the glorious epithets of the monarch (as the Profoundly Wise, Active, Intelligent). An Assyrian reader has written his way of pronouncing *sib*, viz. *siba*, a useful marginal gloss. The paper is intensely lexicographical, and presents to the student some most valuable materials.

Tuesday, December 1, 1874.

S. Birch, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following candidates were nominated for election:—Rev. T. D. Harford Battersby, Keswick; Col. N. D. Barton; Rev. Waldegrave Brewster, Manchester; Mrs. Henrietta Brogden; Mrs. De Bergue, Palace Gardens, W.; Rev. Thomas Pelham Dale, M.A.; Dr. Friedrich Delitzch, Leipzig; Alexander Forbes, M.A., Aberdeen; W. Jesse Freer, Leicester; Rev. Dr. Kessen, Dover; John Walter Lea, B.A., F.G.S., F.Z.S., F.R. Hist. S.; Rev. Charles Lee, M.A., Bilston; Septimus P. Moore, LL.B., B. Sc.; R. M. Mills; Rev. Fredk. P. Napier; Rev. Dr. Robbins, Kensington; R. Neville Roberts; Frederic Seebohm, Hitchin.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *On a Mythological Inscription on the Tomb of SETI I, at Thebes.* By Edouard Naville, Genève.—In this paper the author begins by referring to the primitive deification of physical causes, and their gods then influencing human affairs, whereby (with the aid of the poets) Mythology became so interesting to its believers. He obtained squeezes from the original inscriptions at Thebes, formerly known to be perfect, but now mutilated by the Arabs, who nocturnally abstract pieces for sale to tourists, in spite of the Khedive's orders to the contrary. This inscription, which belongs to the *archaic* period, represents RA, as the creator of mankind, being so disgusted with their insolence, that he resolved to exterminate them: but previously convokes an assembly of the other gods to take their advice; his father Nun in this council on their behalf urges him to this step, and the goddess Tefnut descends as Hathor for that purpose. The massacre makes human blood flow to Heliopolis. Ra afterwards repents, and orders certain deities to drink up the inundated country; to gather at Elephantine, a quantity of fruits, which, mixed with the said human blood, fills 7,000 vases, the sight of which number rejoices Ra, and the human race reappears. Ra swears with uplifted hand not to kill mankind again. These offer their warrior-aid to Ra against his foes, the barbarians of the date-fields at Amu: who are subdued. Ra soon tires of human society, re-ascends fatigued into heaven on the back of the Cow-transformed goddess Nut: previously granting to his favourite Thoth a field with Aalu flowers; the ibis and cranes; the solar and lunar orbs and stars, etc., which appear immediately at his wish. He also gives commands to Seb about the serpents he carries about him. M. Naville points to the separation of the human race, who drank from the Nile-water, from others who drank from well-water, as indicative of the outside Lybians and Arabians, from the true Egyptians. He suggests that the latter as Typhonian men were not extinguished, and thinks human victims were originally sacrificed as Typhonian foes, and pleasing to the great god Ra. The inscription concludes with precepts for the purification of the intending reader of this most sacred record. He quotes Plutarch, Porphyry, and Seleucus as authorities for human immolations at Heliopolis, which this record, he supposes, was to abolish. The resemblance to Jupiter commanding Saturn, and Scriptural analogies, is very striking.

2. *On a Monument of Harehembi in the Museum at Turin.* By S. Birch, LL.D. —The paper contained an account of an inscription relating to the coronation of the monarch Haremhebi, or Horus. The principal points of interest are the

mention of the ceremonies in honour of the king, and his restoration of the worship of the god Ammon, which had been overthrown by the heretical worshippers of the Sun's disk. The endowment of the temple of Ammon at Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis are also alluded to in the inscription.

Tuesday, January 5, 1875.

S. Birch, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following candidates were nominated for election in February:—Miss Ann Cavendish Bentinck; Rev. Canon St. Vincent Beechey, M.A.; Rev. William Boyd, F.S.A., Scot.; Mrs. Colonel Gawler (Tower of London); Miss L. Hope; Rev. Dr. Newman (Chaplain to the Senate, U.S.A.).

The Council and Officers for the ensuing year were elected.

The following papers were then read:—

1. *Ethiopian Annals.* Translated by G. Maspero.—*Stèle of King Horsiatef.*—This stèle, the text of which has been published in Mariette's *Monumens divers*, relates the war of king Horsiatef against the people of the Nahasi Land, and the district of Maddi (the Mataïa of the Greeks). It then describes the grand ceremonies which took place at the Temple of Amen of Napata, after the Ethiopian king had obtained success, which he as usual attributes to the direct favour of the deity. Some further adorations to Osiris, and a long list of votive offerings concludes the inscription, which, as well as that which followed, was accompanied with critical and geographical notes.

2. *On the Stèle of King Nastosenen.*—This interesting stèle, which has been partly translated by Brugsch-Bey in his *Geographie*, relates the wars made by King Nastosenen against the various petty monarchs of Southern Egypt, including Dongola and the district around Wady Halfa, and many other districts as yet unidentified. After recording these victories the stèle relates the adorations paid by the king to his tutelary deity Amen of Napata, and the amount of treasure and offerings presented to the temple of that divinity.

3. *On some Cypriote Antiquities discovered by General di Cesnola.* Described by S. Birch, LL.D.—In opening up the foundations of a ruined temple at Golgoi, a variety of votive statues and terra cotta figures were discovered, executed in various styles of art, and with a greater or less degree of care. The principal object was a small limestone pediment, the tympanum of which was filled up with two draped female figures, represented as upholding the architrave, while at either of the angles was figured a crouching lion, having the tongue protruded over the lower lip, as is common in archaic Greek art. The whole were in very low relief, and were represented as facing the spectator. On the plinth below was a long Cypriote inscription, filled in with red paint.

Tuesday, February 2, 1875.

S. Birch, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following candidates were nominated for election in March:—William Appleford; Miss Mary Basset; Miss Emma Brown; Robert Cust; Rev. Dr. L. Loëwe, Broadstairs; Rev. Josiah Miller, M.A.; Robert Monteith, Carstairs; W. J. Cockburn Muir, Putney; Rev. John Sharpe, B.A., Cambridge.

The following papers were then read:—

1. *On Human Sacrifice among the Babylonians.* By Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.—In this interesting paper the author derived direct evidence of the prevalence of

the awful custom of human sacrifice among the ancient Chaldeans from the translation of two Accadian tablets, one of which declared the immolation to have a vicarious efficacy, especially in the case of children when offered as atonements for the sins of their parents. There was also a special name given to the act, it being called "The Sacrifice of Bel, or of righteousness," and a description of the rite forms the subject of the first tablet of the great epic cycle of mythical legends, under the head of the first month and the first sign of the zodiac. The paper concluded with a series of references to the performance of human sacrifice, derived from clerical authorities and the recently discovered Carthaginian Inscriptions.

2. *On the date of Christ's Nativity.* By Dr. Lauth, of Munich.—The learned author agrees with Mr. Bosanquet (Trans. S.B.A., 1872) in assuming 3 B.C. of ordinary era as the date of the nativity: and adduces what he thinks proofs from the Roman Indiction, Egyptian Apis Tablets, etc. He considers the crucifixion to have occurred on Friday, 7th April; that the darkness was caused by a planet obscuring the sun, which planet has since disappeared. He assumes the three Magi to be Caspar (Thane of Sipara), Belshazzar (Ruler of Assyria), and Melchior (King of the River, *Nile*). Many hieroglyphic and classic writers are quoted; also the circumstance that on the night of the 30th April–May the 1st, the Germans have C + M + P + marked on their doors: that gardeners do not like to plant out on 12–14 May, the three days of the cold saints. (Humboldt thinks this connected with the Meteor group passing the solar disc.) Reference is also made to the Egyptian sacrifice of a swine; to the Massacre of the Innocents; to the flight of Joseph and Mary (probably from connivance with the Galilean insurrection of Judæus against Archelaus), etc.; also that the second census of Quirinius occurred when Jesus was in his 12th year.

Tuesday, March 2, 1875.

S. Birch, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following candidates were nominated for election in April:—J. L. Evans, Bristol; Edwin Freshfield; Rev. P. Digges La Touche; Rev. Andrew Melville; Prof. C. Seager, M.A.; Rev. Prof. D. H. Weir, D.D. (University, Glasgow); Dr. Carl Zimmerman, Basle.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *Letter on the Chamber of the Cow in the Tomb of Seti I, at the Biban el Moluk, Thebes.* By Prof. R. H. Mills.—In this letter Prof. Mills stated that, owing to the courtesy of Mariette Bey, he had been enabled to take stampings of the whole of the inscriptions in the chamber of the cow, extending over 160 square feet. These stampings were exhibited at the meeting, and they entirely corroborated the translation which had been previously given by M. Edouard Naville, of the text which they contain, viz., the unique Egyptian tradition of the destruction of mankind by the god Ra and his coadjutor deities.

II. *Observations on a supposed Karaite Tombstone in the British Museum.* By Rev. Dr. L. Löewe (Broadstairs).—According to the learned Hebraist and Archæologist the inscription on this tombstone, which is now in the British Museum, might be read—"The Old Man, the Priest (the honored) Joseph Hanoch Hanouri (the enlightened), the Carpenter, of the family of Israel Najarah." The tombstone was probably brought by English soldiers from the Karaite Cemetery in Djuffet Kalea in the Crimea.

III. *On the Tablet of Antefaa II in the Tomb of the Valley of the El Assasif at Thebes.* By S. Birch, LL.D.—This paper gave an account of the inscription on the tablet from a copy sent to the writer from Mariette Bey, through M. Maspero. The tablet represents the King Antefaa standing with three dogs

before him and one between his legs, accompanied by their names, and followed by an officer of the royal household. From the inscription on the tablet it appears it was set up in the 50th year of the king's reign. It is mentioned in a papyrus of the British Museum recording the examination of the tombs at the El Assasif in the reign of Rameses IX. The paper was accompanied by some account of the monarchs of the XIth Theban dynasty, and the monuments as yet known of this time. The relations of the dogs to the purposes to which they might have been used in the chase was also mentioned.

Tuesday, April 6, 1875.

S. Birch, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following Candidates were nominated for election in May:—James Backhouse; Rev. Arthur Carr; Dr. Amos Beardsley, F.L.S., F.G.S.; Rev. Prof. John Dury Geden; Arthur H. Hobson; Thos. John Moaksom; Rev. Geo. A. Trevor; James Walter.

Lady Tite presented to the Society two very fine Babylonian Contract Tablets, from the collection of the late Sir William Tite. Mr. Geo. Smith gave a short account of the same to the Members present.

The following papers were then read:—

I. *Description of Lady Tite's Tablets.*—These Contract Tablets were described by Mr. Smith as belonging to the Persian period, and as possessing several points of interest; one of them was dated in the 17th year of Darius, and the other in the 26th year of Artaxerxes.

II. *On an Ancient Assyrian Sword bearing a Cuneiform Inscription, with the name of Vulnirari king of Assyria.* By George Smith.—This interesting and very ancient weapon is the property of Robert Hanbury, M.P., who kindly lent it for exhibition. It is wrought in bronze, and bears incised upon one side the name of "Vulnirari king of Assyria," thus dating from the 14th century B.C.: it was found near Diarbekr, in which region the Assyrians at that early time made conquests.

III. *Revised Translation of an Obscure Passage in the Great Astronomical Work of the Chaldeans.* By Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A.—The learned philologist explained that, in continuation of his studies upon the early Babylonian Astronomical Tablets, he had ascertained that certain characters were not to be read as heretofore phonetically, and therefore the passage in question, which occurs at the close of the first Tablet of the Astronomical Cyclopœdia, must be read—"The star (Jupiter) rises, and its rising like the day is bright, in its rising like the blade of a double sword a ring it forms." This would refer to the streak of light thrown by the rising planet upon a misty atmosphere.

IV. *On a Digraphic Inscription found at Larnaca.* By D. Pierides.—The inscription, which is unfortunately much mutilated, is properly to be called digraphic, as the language is the same throughout, only written in Greek and Cypriote characters respectively. It appears to have been a votive inscription incised by the order of "Stasias, the prince, son of Stasicrates," king of Soli, both of whom it mentions. Besides the digraphic texts there are the remains of a later Greek inscription which is nearly unintelligible.

V. *On the Four Races in the Egyptian representations of the Last Judgment.* By E. Lefébure.—This paper was chiefly an account of several Tableaux which occur on the famous Sarcophagus of Seti I, now in the Soane Museum. The text, here translated for the first time, consists of the addresses of the representatives of the four divisions of mankind to the deity Ra at the entrance of the *ker neter*, and of his several replies to them. The progress of the deity along the heavenly Nile is then related, and the rewards of the justified are ascribed to them.

Tuesday, May 4, 1875.

S. Birch, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following candidates were duly nominated for election in June :—Mrs. E. Cable ; Rt. Rev. Monsignor Capel, D.D. ; Rev. V. S. Coles, M.A. ; Rev. Prof. Robert Clark ; Dr. Dollinger ; Talfourd Ely, M.A. ; Robert R. Greig ; Miss Susannah Harris ; Rev. H. Tully Kingdon, M.A. ; Rev. Gustavus Kieme, M.A. ; Admiral Ommanney, C.B., F.R.S. ; William Payne, F.R.G.S. ; Rev. Canon Prothero ; Rev. S. G. F. Perry ; J. Josselyn Ranson ; Miss Woodrooffe.

The following papers were then read :—

I. *A Commentary with Notes on the Deluge Tablet.* By H. Fox Talbot, Esq.—The learned author refers to the recently published text, and compares the sacrifice of victims by *seven* at a time, and the deity smelling a sweet savour of the burnt offerings, with the Mosaic narrative. Other points of contact are noted, as that the ark had only one door and one window. The cause of the divine wrath, of the building of the ark, and of the warning are also noted. The sacrificer wore white linen. (Cf. Ezek. xliv. 15). The peculiar illness of Izdubar is then explained from a kind of malaria (Isaiah x. 18 ; Job vii. 5), causing a cutaneous disorder, probably leprosy, which was to be purified by immersion in water. Mr. Talbot considered that Izdubar directed his return voyage by the "astrolabe." In conclusion the author generally agreed with Mr. Smith's translation of the narrative in its essential points, but not so in the unimportant sequel of Izdubar's illness and cure. Ubara-tu-tu leads to *Tutu* being the same as Bel, Tutu being the Accadian for parent or father. The Greek Ardates is Arda-uttu ; Otiartes probably being the same as Uttu-arda.

II. *On an Historical Inscription of the* 10*th Expedition of Esarhaddon.* By William Boscawen.—The talented translator stated that the inscription in question showed that the cause of the 10th warlike expedition of the king of Assyria was the revolt of Bahal, king of Tyre, in conjunction with the king of Egypt, whom he had previously subdued. Hastily gathering his army, Esarhaddon started from the city of Assur, B.C. 672, and crossing the Euphrates and Tigris marched to Apqu, the Biblical Aphek, a city at the northern extremity of Samaria. Detaching a portion of his army to blockade Tyre, he took a forced march of 200 miles to Raphia, a town on the borders of Egypt. Here the boundary river between Egypt and Assyria being dry, the kings of the Arabians supplied the Assyrians with water, and thus sustained the army till it arrived at the seat of war in Lower Egypt. Unfortunately the inscription breaks off at this point of interest, but from the annals of Assurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon, we learn that the Egyptians were defeated, and order re-established, and the kingdom itself divided into twenty petty states, the chief of which was Memphis. Soon after this event Esarhaddon resigned the empire of Assyria to his son Assurbanipal, retaining that of Babylon for himself. He died not long afterwards, B.C. 668.

III. *On the LISHANA-SHEL-IMRANI, the modern Syriac or Targum dialect of the Jews in the vast territories of ancient Media and Assyria ; with some account of the People by whom it is spoken.* By the Rev. A. Löwy.—The author gave a short statistical account of the Jews of Kurdistan and adjacent districts. He drew attention to existing similarities and differences between the Nestorians and the Jews. He further pointed out the peculiarities of the important Jewish *Imrâni* dialect, and produced the first written specimen of this hitherto unrecorded member of the Semitic languages. The paper tended to show that philological investigation in this direction would probably throw much light on some of the most interesting questions in the history of language and of race.

In the discussion which ensued Dr. Birch, Dr. Ginsburg, and the Rev. A. H. Sayce took part.

Tuesday, June 2, 1875.

S. Birch, LL.D., President, in the Chair.

The following candidates were duly nominated for election in July:—W. C. Allen; Rev. P. Barker, M.A.; Miss R. H. Busk; R. M. Butt; Miss Clendining; Theodore Harris; Hiram Hitchcock (U.S.A.); Mrs. Huish; S. Petty Leather (Burnley); Rev. W. D. Maclagan, M.A.; James Pincott; Mrs. Silvester; Rev. Percival Smith.

The following Papers were then read:—

I. *On Ancient Metrology.* By F. R. Conder, C.E.—In this paper Mr. Conder indicated the confused and contradictory state of our present knowledge of the subject, and proceeded to establish an absolute metrical base, identifying the barley corn, which the Hebrew writers state to be the unit of length and of weight, with the long measure barley corn and with the troy grain. The grounds of identification were (1) actual measurement and weight of full-sized grains of barley at time of harvest; (2) determination of specific gravity according to statements made in Hebrew literature; (3) actual dimensions of ancient Jewish buildings; and actual weight of a Babylonian talent now in the British Museum, which corresponded to Mr. Conder's determination of 960,000 troy grains within one *per mille*. The remarkable double division of the Chaldee metrical system, which is both decimal and duo-decimal, was then explained, and shown to apply to measures of length, area, capacity, and weight. The origin of the troy ounce, the diamond carat, the Spanish ducat, and other existing divisions, is traced to the early system employed by the Phœnician traders. Appended to the paper was a tabular statement of the comparative weights and measures of the ancient Greeks and Hebrews.

II. *On the Egyptian Shawl for the Head, as worn on the Ancient Statues of the Kings.* By Samuel Sharpe.—In this brief paper the veteran Egyptologist showed that the head-dress with apparent folds and lappets could be formed out of a square yard of striped calico, arranged in a peculiar manner; and, to prove the truth of his statements, an actual shawl thus folded was exhibited to the Society.

III. *On an Assyrian Inscription in the Vatican Museum.* By E. Richmond Hodges, F.R.G.S.—This inscription, which has hitherto been unpublished, is in a very mutilated condition, and the commencement is missing. It appears to commemorate the foundation of a city and the receipt of tribute; it also mentions the tribes of the Nakli and Sapiri; but owing to the imperfect state of the monument its date and history cannot be ascertained.

Miss Amelia B. Edwards exhibited and described a collection of water color sketches made during a journey on the Nile from Cairo to the 2nd Cataract. The views were chiefly of Egyptian and Nubian temples, and more especially of a small rock cut Speos of the period of Rameses II. at Abou Simbel, which was discovered by Miss Edwards' party on 14th February, 1874, and which is in perfect preservation. The decorations and inscriptions of this Speos were given in detail. With the sketches was also exhibited a fine funereal stèle in painted sycamore wood, of the period of the XXIInd Dynasty.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which arose during the meeting:—Dr. Birch; Rev. W. Denton; William Simpson; Joseph Bonomi.

Tuesday, July 6, 1875.

S. Birch, LL.D., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

In addition to the candidates nominated for election in last month, the following candidates were, by a special vote of Council, also duly nominated and ballotted for on the same evening, and declared duly elected:—Rev. Richard

Appleton (Trinity College, Cambridge); Major G. R. S. Black: Miss Brocklehurst; Charles Buxton; Miss Freeman; Rev. William Grant (Toronto); Rev. A. F. Kirkpatrick (Trinity College, Cambridge); Mrs. Maxwell; Rev. Selah Merrill; Mrs. Charles Seager; Silvanus P. Thompson, B.A., F.R.A.S.; Rev. Canon Titcomb; Dr. G. A. Zimmermann (Illinois). And as Honorary Members: Dr. W. D. Whitney, Yale College; Rev. Dr. Hackett, Boston; and M. E. Lefébure.

The following Papers were then read:—

I. *On a Tablet in the British Museum, relating apparently to the Deluge.* By H. Fox Talbot, F.R.S.—This tablet, of which the beginning and end are lost, describes a Panic Terror which seized mankind and all animals at a time when some great calamity was impending over the world, probably the visible approach of the Deluge; but other calamities may have happened in the earliest ages of which we have no record. This tablet has been lithographed in plate 27 of the fourth volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia; it has not been previously translated, and several lines at the beginning of the tablet are broken and illegible. After this lacuna it proceeds as follows:—

"1. One man ran to another.
"2. The girl ascended to her topmost story.
"3. The man ran forth from the house of his friend.
"4. The son fled from the house of his father.
"5. The doves flew away from their dove-cote.
"6. The eagle soared up from his eyrie.
"7. The swallows flew from their nests.
"8. The oxen and the sheep fell prostrate on the earth.
"9. It was the great day. The Spirits of Evil were assembled."

The remainder of the story, with the exception of a few words, is broken off.

II. *On an Early Chaldean Inscription of Agu-kak-rimi and other Kings.* By William Boscawen. The author pointed out the importance of the text as furnishing the names of five new early Chaldean kings, whose names were—Agu-kak-nini, the monarch of the inscription; Sasi-quru-mas, Abi-orakas, Aquragas, and Ummah-zirite. This last appears to have been the founder of the line. The author also pointed out the indications in the text of the probable *Kassite* origin of these persons as shown in the king claiming descent from the noble seed of the god Sugamuna; this deity is identified with the *Elamite* or *Kassite* god Sumu, W.A.I. II, 65, 2. The king in his titles calls himself first of all "*King of the Kassi*," and of the "*vast land of Babylonia*." The inscription also illustrates the belief of the Chaldeans in the future life, for the gods are besought to be "favourable to him in heaven" and in the "house and land of life," and then follows the prayer that "he may attain to the highest heaven." The inscription also furnishes the names of the Chaldean goddesses in company with their consort gods. Reference is made to the great temple of Bit Saggadhu at Babylon.

The Assyrian Grammar, by Rev. A. H. Sayce, published by Messrs. Bagster, under the sanction of the Society, was exhibited and approved of.

The following gentlemen took part in the discussion which ensued:—Rev. Selah Merrill; Robert Cust; Dr. Birch; W. Boscawen; Professor Seager; Professor Donaldson.

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Society of Biblical Archæology.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

Objects of the Society.

This Society is instituted for the investigation of the Archæology, History, Arts, and Chronology of Ancient and Modern Assyria, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, and other Biblical Lands, the promotion of the study of the Antiquities of those Countries, and the record of future discoveries which may be made in connexion therewith.

For this purpose it is proposed to read, and, as far as practicable or desirable, to print, in whole or in part, original papers upon the above subjects, and also to lay before the Members a statement of work done, and discoveries made in relation thereto by other Societies at home or abroad.

To form a fund, if hereafter found expedient, for the exploration of Biblical Countries and their Antiquities.

To collect sketches, photographs, drawings, manuscript notes, data and memoranda bearing upon the above subjects; to become the property of the Society, but reserving to the donor the right of publication, if not published by the Society within twelve months.

To purchase from time to time for the information of the Members such publications as may bear upon the objects of the Society.

This Society shall be named:

"The Society of Biblical Archæology."

It shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Council, Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, two Auditors, and Ordinary Members.

PRESIDENT.

I. Except as provided by the next following clause, the President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, Special, or other Meetings of the Society, and of the Council. In the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents in attendance shall take his place. If no Vice-President of the Society shall be present, then the Treasurer, and in his absence a Member of the Council, or, if none present, then one of the Members of the Society, to be chosen by the Meeting, may preside.

II. The President shall govern the Society by and with the advice of the Council, shall regulate the proceedings, and execute, or provide for the due execution of the Statutes and Bye-laws of the Society; and in all questions of equality in voting shall have an additional or casting vote.

COUNCIL.

III. The Council shall have the management and application of the funds and other property of the Society, the nomination of Honorary Members, &c., the selection of papers to be read at the Meetings, or to be published in the Transactions, and generally the management of all the affairs and concerns of the Society.

IV. The President, Treasurer, and Secretaries shall have keys of all cases, boxes, &c., at the discretion of the Council.

V. Receipts signed by the Treasurer shall be given to all Members for payments made by them.

VI. The Treasurer shall receive on account of, and in trust for, the Society, all moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council.

VII. No money or moneys shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer, or dealt with, but in pursuance of an order of Council, and by cheque signed by at least three Members of Council, countersigned by one of the Secretaries.

VIII. The two Auditors shall be Members of the Society,

and not on the Council, and they shall audit the Annual Accounts, and shall, if necessary, present a Report upon the Society's affairs to the Council for presentation at the Anniversary Meeting.

IX. The Council shall meet at least an hour before each Meeting during the Session, and at such other times as may be deemed necessary for the business of the Society. The Council shall also meet to consider any special business upon a requisition directed to one of the Secretaries, and signed by not less than seven Ordinary Members.

X. Three Members of the Council, of which not more than one may be an Officer, shall form a quorum.

XI. All the Members of the Council shall be summoned to the Meetings by a notice signed by a Secretary.

XII. All the questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman for the time being to have a casting vote.

XIII. At all Meetings of the Council the Chair shall be taken as soon after the time fixed for assembling as a quorum shall be present.

XIV. All Officers of the Society shall be elected from the Ordinary Members.

Admission of Members.

XV. Every candidate, whether lady or gentleman, in order to be elected a Member, must be proposed and recommended by at least two Members of the Society.

XVI. The election shall take place in the manner following:—

The names of the proposed candidates shall be first submitted to the Council by the Secretary, after which, if approved by the Council, they shall be announced to the Members present at the next Ordinary Meeting, and put up for election by show of hands at the subsequent Meeting. Three Members may demand a ballot.

XVII. When a candidate is elected, due notice of his election shall be sent to him immediately by the Secretary.

XVIII. The Annual Subscription of each Member shall be one guinea; such Subscription to become payable and due

from the 1st January of each year. The Life composition fee to be ten guineas.

XIX. When any Member of the Society, resident within the United Kingdom, shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Treasurer shall remind him by letter of the arrears being due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months therefrom he shall cease to be a Member of the Society. The Council, however, may modify this rule in the event of any special case arising.

XX. Whenever there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the same; and if at such Meeting at least two thirds of the Members present shall concur in such expulsion, the President, or in his absence the Chairman, shall announce the same at the next Ordinary Meeting, and the Secretary shall forthwith communicate their decision to such Member.

XXI. The number of Foreign Honorary Members shall be unlimited; the number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed twenty.

XXII. All Honorary Members shall have the privilege of attending the Ordinary Meetings of the Society without the right of voting, and copies of the Publications of the Society shall be forwarded to them.

XXIII. Any Member of the Society may resign, upon sending in a formal notice of his intention to the Secretary, and paying up any arrears of subscriptions.

Librarian and Secretary.

XXIV. All printed Books, MSS., Drawings, &c., are vested in the President and Council as representatives of the Society.

XXV. At the close of each Session the Secretaries shall register and place among the Archives of the Society all papers and other documents.

XXVI. The Librarian shall have the charge of and be answerable for all books, papers, &c., which he shall catalogue and produce whenever required for the use of the Members.

XXVII. No MSS. or Drawings, or Antiquities, except by permission of the Council, shall be lent out of the Society's Rooms. But every Member, or *British* Honorary Member may borrow for two months any printed book belonging to the Society, on the understanding that he is answerable for its safety and due return in good condition, and every Member borrowing a book must sign a memorandum acknowledging its receipt.

XXVIII. The Secretary shall, unless unavoidably prevented, attend all Meetings of the Council and Society, and take and read Minutes, acknowledge Donations, and attend to the general business of the Society.

Anniversary Meeting.

XXIX. The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be holden in the first week in January, when the Report of the Council shall be read, the Council and Officers for the ensuing year elected, the audited accounts presented, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined.

XXX. At the Ordinary Meeting of the Society next preceding the day of the Anniversary the President shall give notice of the day and time when the Anniversary Meeting shall be held.

The business of such Meeting shall be :

To elect or supply any vacancy in the office of the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Council, and Secretaries, and other Officers of the Society.

To make Bye-laws, or repeal or alter any then existing Bye-laws, of which previous notice has been given.

To pass any resolution, and to make any regulation having reference to the objects and proceedings of the Society.

XXXI. All motions made at the Anniversary Meeting shall be in writing, and shall be signed by the mover and seconder.

XXXII. The Officers of the Society and Twelve Members of the Council shall be eligible for re-election in the ensuing year.

XXXIII. In these elections the persons, who may have the greatest number of votes, shall be declared duly elected, and if any doubt or difficulty shall happen in relation thereto, or to the particular manner of voting, the same shall be determined by the decision of the President and the majority of the Council for the preceding year, then present.

XXXIV. In the case of an equality of votes, the President or Chairman for the time being shall have the casting vote.

XXXV. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Anniversary Meeting a week at least before the said Meeting.

XXXVI. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Anniversary Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Anniversary Meeting.

XXXVII. All vacancies among the Officers of the Society during the same period shall be provisionally supplied by the Council.

Special Meetings.

XXXVIII. The President and Council shall have power to summon at any time a Special General Meeting, not less than ten days' notice thereof being given.

Ordinary Meetings.

XXXIX. The Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be holden on the first Tuesday in each month from November to June in each Session, at 8.30 p.m. precisely, and the Council shall meet at 7.30 p.m. on the same day—Passion, Easter, Whitsun, and Christmas week excepted. It shall be in the power of the Council to vary the commencement and duration of the Session as may be necessary.

XL. At these Meetings the Minutes of the previous one shall be read, presents acknowledged, new Members nominated, and those proposed at a previous Meeting be elected, communications shall be read, and any other business authorised by the Council be proceeded with.

XLI. Every Member shall be allowed to introduce two

Visitors, at the Ordinary Meetings; such Members and Visitors shall write their names in the Books of the Society on entering the Meeting Rooms.

XLII. The President for the time being shall have liberty to introduce any number of Visitors.

Papers.

XLIII. No Paper shall be read at the Ordinary Meetings of the Society without the sanction of the Council. Polemical and political topics are to be avoided in papers read, or discussions taking place, before the Society.

XLIV. All persons who shall communicate any Papers to the Society, which shall be approved as aforesaid, may read their own Papers, with the consent of the Chairman for the time being.

XLV. Any Member desirous of having separate copies of any Paper which he may have presented to the Society, and which is to be published by it, shall, upon application to the Council, receive free of expense any number of copies not exceeding twelve, provided that the application be made before the type is distributed by the printer.

XLVI. The Copyright of all papers read or submitted remains with the Author.

XLVII. A copy of the Society's Publications issued after his election shall be delivered free to every Member not in arrears with the Society, and if in stock.

XLVIII. The Publications of the Society shall, with the sanction of the Council, be sent to, and exchanged with, those of other Literary and Archæological Societies in England and on the Continent.

XLIX. The name of every person who shall contribute a donation or legacy shall be announced as a Benefactor at an Ordinary Meeting of the Society, and shall be inserted in the ensuing Publications of the Society.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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